DECONSTRUCTING AFGHANISTAN:

HOW DOES AMERICA'S PAST INFORM AFGHANISTAN'S FUTURE?

BY

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The conclusions and opinions expressed in this document are those of the author. They do not reflect the official position of the US Government, Department of Defense, the United States Air Force, or Air University.

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ABSTRACT

This study suggests a path for Afghanistan's post-2014 future based on the post-Civil War experience of the US South. A comparative history of both societies reveals they share three important traits: highly differentiated class structures, ethnically and economically diverse societal mosaics, and a belief in peripheral and societal autonomy. The author assesses the prospects for either renewed civil war or stable peace in Afghanistan after US and coalition military forces complete their withdrawal. The study concludes Afghanistan's fate rests with the Afghan people and not the international community, despite the weight of effort expended by the US and coalition nations since October 2001. Furthermore, regardless of the near universal assumption by pundits, politicians, and academics, this comparison with the South after April 1865 suggests a significant possibility exists for political reconciliation with Taliban leaders, sustained peace, and stable albeit slow economic growth. Secondary findings suggest Afghanistan's historical existence as a rentier state will persist at least through 2025; that social modernization efforts imposed by external influence, to include gender equality, are likely to regress in future years; and the vast economic disparities resident in Afghan society will persist indefinitely.

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INTRODUCTION

The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail. – President George W. Bush

...we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom; and that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth. – President Abraham Lincoln

On 7 October 2001, President George W. Bush addressed the nation from the White House Treaty Room less than four weeks after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks that shook the US from its hegemonic malaise. Since 1996, the international community had excoriated Mullah Omar's Taliban for arcane social policies and human rights atrocities against Afghanistan's minority populations, but failed to intervene in any meaningful way. Nineteen al Qaeda militants, however, prompted the US to intercede militarily in Afghanistan's latest civil war on behalf of the Northern Alliance, to retaliate against al Qaeda and their Taliban allies. The Bush administration's actions, with broad support from the international community, opened the War on Terror that extended well beyond the borders of Afghanistan.

International intervention in Afghanistan far exceeded the expectations of October 2001. The persistent American and coalition presence outlasted George W. Bush's tenure as President, the better financed military mission in Iraq, and Osama bin Laden's leadership of al Qaeda. Rather that decisive victory, however, initial political and military success begat indecision, a costly insurgency, endemic corruption, a resurgent drug trade, and mounting cases of Afghan trainees using deadly force against their American and coalition trainers. The cascade of failures in Afghanistan was somewhat mitigated by successes including national elections, improved gender equality, infrastructure development, and the birth of indigenous security capacity. Ultimately, though, what does the sum of experience in Afghanistan since 2001 forecast past the 2014 withdrawal of US and coalition military forces?

Political and military transition in 2014 will present significant challenges for the young Afghan government and unproven indigenous security forces. In April 2014,

Afghanistan will attempt its first political transition since the end of Taliban rule, coincident with the traditional Taliban spring campaign season. By December, US forces will dwindle to a token presence, as the political appetite for a sustained US role in Afghan security wanes in both nations. Despite the overwhelming weight of American and international effort, the overriding question remains: have 12 years of nation-building operations brought Afghanistan closer to peace and the society of states, or will Afghanistan revert to a cycle of civil war and renewed international isolation?

Afghanistan's modern history, replete with war and tribalism, and America's not-so-distant experience in Vietnam have led most pundits, politicians, and academics alike, to cast significant doubt over the prospect for peace past 2014. The Vietnam analogy offers harsh insights, but it represents only one potential viewpoint despite receiving the preponderance of attention. Vietnam remains popular because of its temporal proximity and the emotional response it continues to illicit in American society. Perhaps, a historically more distant and less emotionally charged analogy might provide an alternative perspective to enrich the debate concerning Afghanistan's future.

The following analysis will present an alternative that remains unexplored to date, a comparison between present-day Afghanistan and the US South following the Civil War's conclusion in 1865. Despite the obvious cultural chasm, Afghan and Southern societies share three broad and deeply engrained traits: a highly differentiated class structure, an ethnically and economically diverse societal mosaic, and a belief in peripheral and societal autonomy. In both societies, the three traits evolved over lengthy periods and in accordance with internal beliefs and practice. During nation-building operations in Afghanistan and Reconstruction of the South, external interests sought to amend those deeply engrained traits as a means of forcing modernization and conformity.

In both cases, apparently discrete objectives and finite horizons yielded to the realities of post-war societal dysfunction and lengthy occupation. In his 7 October 2001 address, President Bush cast a clear "with us or against us" stance, suggesting clear and restrictive military objectives that coincided with his established apprehension concerning nation-building activities. Within three months, however, specious clarity produced the circuitous nation-building program that President Bush campaigned against during the 2000 election. In 1865, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln fractured

political focus in the capital, eventually leading to open interparty confrontation between Republicans and Democrats and competing visions of the New South. In both circumstances, devastated societies were set adrift through a post-war period punctuated by insurgency, rampant corruption, political dysfunction, military intervention, and externally imposed social change. In the South, the conclusion of Reconstruction in 1877 produced a series of sweeping political and social reversals that cast the New South as an image resembling its antebellum past.

Analogies: The Use and Misuse of History

The lessons of history routinely influence individuals entrusted to set responsible foreign policy, but these lessons are often misinterpreted or misapplied.[1] History is a powerful but dangerous tutor; proper use stimulates a person's imagination, but misuse distorts perception. The frequent misuse of history stems from a natural psychological tendency to "interpret new information in light of past experience."[2] Richard Neustadt provides six ways decision makers commonly misuse history in everyday practice: hasty decision-making; reliance on vague analogies; an inattention to an issue's past; a failure to question key presumptions; succumbing to dominant stereotypes; and making no effort to recognize available choices.[3] Combined, these six shortcomings characterize the cognitive limitations that affect all human beings, to include decision makers marshaling history as a guide.

To overcome cognitive limitations, foreign policy framers rely on personal and shared experience for guidance. Foreign policy decisions, especially those involving war and peace, involve degrees of complexity that extend beyond the cognitive capability of most individuals or advisory groups. Subject to common psychological limitations, policy makers routinely search for historical accounts for valuable perspective. Experiences in close temporal proximity or those that were formative for an individual's initial perceptions are typically the most influential.[4] Consequently, personal and recent historical experiences often bound understanding and the resultant array of possible decisions. Analogies that are distant often never receive consideration.

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[1] Ernest R. May, *"Lessons" of the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), ix

[2] Scott Plous, *The Psychology of Judgment and Decision Making* (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1993) , 38

[3] Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 33

[4] Plous, *The Psychology of Judgment and Decision Making*, 38.

Policy framers, consciously or otherwise, commonly make analogous connections between historical events and their present-day scenario as a systematic way of making policy decisions. Yuen Khong describes historical analogies as "knowledge structures" that help decision makers "order, interpret, and simplify…their environment."[5] Knowledge structures reduce complexity to a manageable level, often enabling critical decisions despite overwhelming complexity. Distilling a complex situation down to a simplified form allows an individual or group to avoid cognitive paralysis, though limits imposed by an analogy restrict the probability of successful decision-making.

Historical analogies, however, are replete with cognitive traps. Fundamentally, an analogy implies that "if two or more events separated by time agree in one respect, then they may also agree in another."[6] Assuming that one commonality equates to a more comprehensive or summary association smacks of reductionism in a complex world and offers what can be a false cognitive comfort in many instances. Thus, decision makers are likely to depend on analogical reasoning when they have a diminished capacity to validate its accuracy, increasing the likelihood of a poor comparison and a bad policy decision.[7] Additionally, people are psychologically prone to use the first analogy encountered that provides any explanatory power, regardless of accuracy.

The appropriate selection of an analogous circumstance depends on a proper understanding of context for all involved cases. Limited knowledge of historical detail or occasions marked by high degrees of fluidity, increase the odds an analogy will be errantly selected or misapplied. Fundamental characteristics of a widely known historical event are often misapplied based on an insufficient knowledge of contextual nuisances. A failure to understand internal details or contributing external factors increases the opportunity to emphasize "superficial or irrelevant parallels."[8] An historical analogy based solely on literal similarities negates the role of context and likely ensures the policy maker will misuse history. As a result, as Ernest May suggests, warns that policy makers must employ a more developed use of history, and a more discriminating approach that

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[5] Yuen Fuen Khong, *Analogies at War* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.
[6] Khong, *Analogies at War*, 7.
[7] Khong, *Analogies at War*, 7.
[8] Khong, *Analogies at War*, 14.

seeks out alternative analogies if they hope to use the past with profit.[9] The comparison that follows will attempt a more meaningful historical comparison for Afghanistan than the Vietnam analogy.

Methodology

This analysis offers a prediction of Afghanistan's future based on a historical comparison to the US South after April 1865. Three axes—socio-political, security, and economic factors—dissect both cases to permit a side-by-side comparison. Within each axis, these societal traits provide the basis for comparison: a highly differentiated class structure, an ethnically and economically diverse societal mosaic, and a belief in peripheral and societal autonomy.

Chapter One presents a historical synopsis of the South and Afghanistan in order to explicate these three shared societal traits. For the South, the chapter covers society's antebellum progression prior to 1861.   For Afghanistan, the historical account begins with its founding in 1747 and concludes with the 1978 communist coup d'état and subsequent Soviet invasion. The chapter also presents a rudimentary encapsulation of the American Civil War, from 1861 to the spring of 1865, and the long period of internal strife in Afghanistan, from 1978 through the end of 2001, to provide a common point of reference for the discussion presented in subsequent chapters.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four represent the core analysis for the South and Afghanistan based on socio-political, security, and economic factors, respectively. The three-shared societal traits provide the structure for these chapters based on a comparative analysis between the discrete periods of rebuilding that followed civil war in each society. The South's Reconstruction period began in April 1865 and ended with President Rutherford B. Hayes' inauguration in early 1877. The comparative nation-building period in Afghanistan began with the installment of Hamid Karzai's interim government in January 2002. The study assumes the period will conclude with the withdrawal of US and coalition forces in December 2014.

Chapter Five draws upon the South's post-Reconstruction history, beginning in 1877, as well as primary and secondary findings from the previous three chapters, to predict Afghanistan's future beyond the 2014 withdrawal. This study concludes with an

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[9] May, *"Lessons" of the Past*, xii.

assessment of the potential for subsequent war and peace, as well as the pertinent factors that might lead to either scenario, and secondary findings related to externally imposed social modernization efforts and the relationship between political process and physical insurgency.

CHAPTER 1
Historical Basis for Comparison

A comparison of seemingly disparate histories of the pre-Civil War American South and Afghanistan prior to 2001 reveals three traits, or norms, common to both societies. First, vertically oriented class structures dominate both societies. The family unit is the building block of order and governance, and ethnicity, gender, and wealth delineate individual status. Second, both societies are complex mosaics that display a capacity for strong cohesion and equally intense division despite extreme disparities in economic and social status. Third, both populations valued peripheral and societal autonomy, to the point of war when faced with external interference. In the South, these traits developed over three centuries. In Afghanistan, the process occurred over several millennia.

Old South: Historical Traits and Civil War Period

The Antebellum South was a society of hierarchies based on race, gender and social class. Influenced by their European origins, white male landowners determined the course of local communities and broader Southern society. A privileged one percent, the planter aristocracy, controlled the political and economic climate.[1] By the mid-1800s, this de facto ruling class dominated the Democratic Party across the South.

The planter class governed the South for their benefit. Planter class males directed Southern society to include education, religious affairs and politics.[2] The institution of slavery was their economic foundation, cotton their principle trade. The "plantation belt" stretching across the Deep South from South Carolina to East Texas had the region's most fertile land, the preponderance of slaves, and the greatest concentration of southern wealth and power.[3] Despite modern misconceptions concerning slavery, slaveholders only accounted for 25 % of the southern white population.[4]

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[1] Charles C. Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 76.

[2] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Collins Inc., 1988), 128.

[3] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 128.

[4] Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," 76.
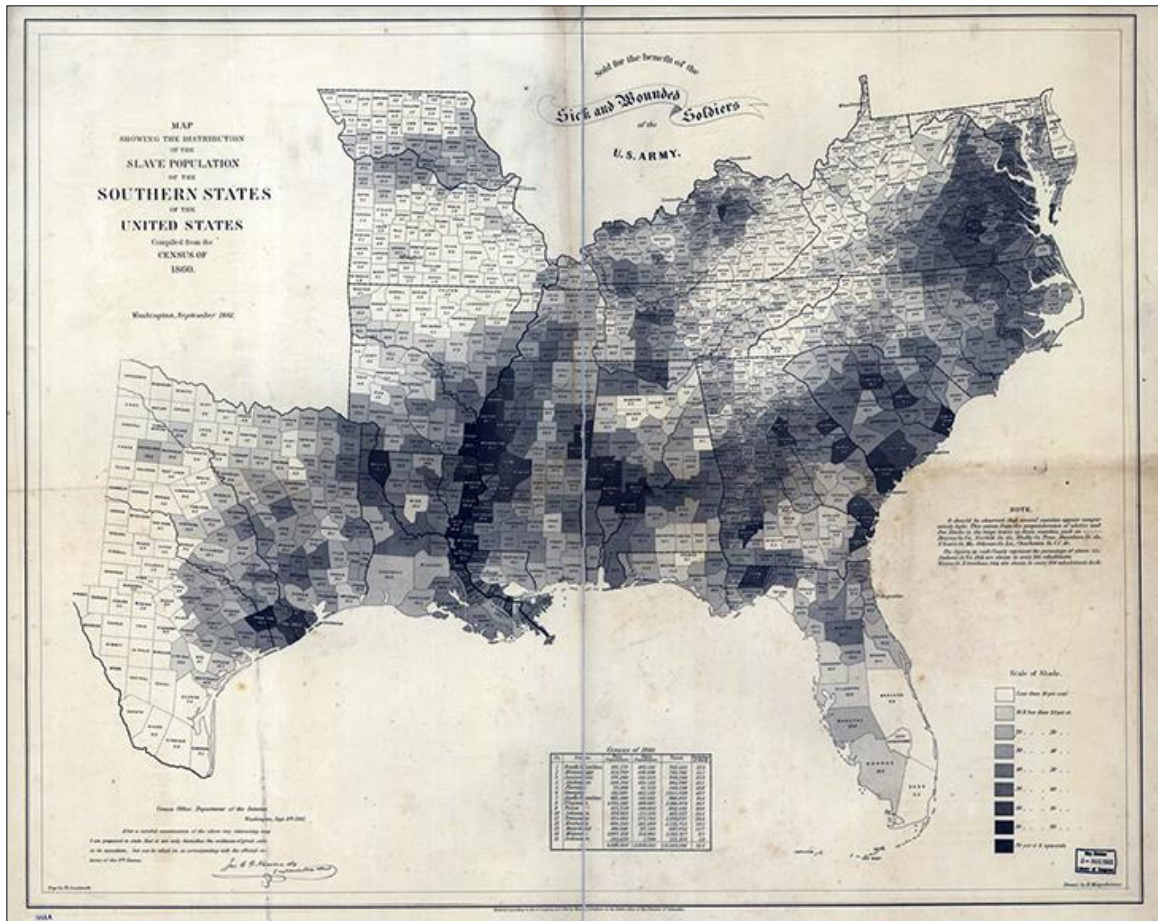
Figure 1: Uneven Distribution of Southern Slavery in 1860
Source: Library of Congress, 2012, "Distribution of Slavery in the Southern States,"
http://myloc.gov/Exhibitions/civil-war-in-america/Pages/default.aspx

 The remaining 75% of southern whites, the yeomanry and poor, formed the bulk

of free southern society but found common cause with their wealthier counterparts. In

the Deep South, where slavery was most prevalent, as shown in Figure 1, a vast economic

gap existed between the planter class and yeomanry populations.[5] Only three percent of

southern slaveholders were considered planter class; the remainder often had very few or

even just a single slave who worked alongside them on the family farm.[6] Yeomanry

males accepted their lower status relative to the very top tier in exchange for a superior

standing relative to the slave and female populations, benefiting in many ways from the

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[5] Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," 82.
[6] Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," 76.

planter class political policies.[7] Beyond the plantation belt, where slavery was less prevalent or non-existent, yeomanry farmers held no stake in the institution, but managed to find common cause nonetheless. Everywhere in the South, even among Middle South mountaineers, significant segments of the yeomanry shared with the aristocracy a common belief in white supremacy.[8]

Buttressing beliefs of racial superiority were commonly held gender convictions. Gender inequality was common to all societal hierarchies. In planter class and yeomanry homes alike, males dictated daily routine.[9] Ironically, this same societal norm emerged among the Freedman families after emancipation. Coincident with the dominant role of males was a universal "kinship [that] trumped class divisions."[10] In short, the family unit served as the basis of southern agrarian society. For the yeomanry, family and agriculture were inseparable due to a heavy reliance on subsistence farming through the early 1800s.

Southern agrarian dependence and poor infrastructure reinforced existing social structures. The South's principally rural composition permitted a decentralized political philosophy. Southern society did not require extensive infrastructure to operate, and plantation and family farms were largely self-sufficient state and local governments imposed low taxes and "accorded upcountry yeoman authority over their own affairs."[11] The smaller government mentality came to define Southern Democrat political platforms by the mid-1800s. Somewhat paradoxically, Southern political unity at the federal level failed to translate uniformly at the state and local levels. Representation within state legislatures was a point of contention among the yeomanry and planter class though never significant enough to disrupt societal order. Although the planter class argued that slave populations should count toward proportional representation, the yeomanry, often from upcountry regions without large slaveholding plantations, sought representation

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[7] This acknowledgement has been a recent admission among antebellum historians. Historians in the 1950s oversimplified southern class relationships with a belief that the yeomanry population was subservient to the planter class rather than supportive of their policies.

[8] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 12.

[9] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 88.

[10] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 86.

[11] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 13.

according to a "white basis."[12] Despite disagreements over issues like popular representation, however, the yeomanry predominantly supported the planter class agenda.

Yeomanry compliance did not equate to social uniformity across the South. The pre-Civil War South was a complex mosaic divided geographically and politically in addition to its aforementioned social boundaries. Geographically, the South consisted of three divisible regions: the Border South, Middle South, and Deep South. The Border South comprised those states with legalized slavery that did not secede in 1861.[13] The Middle South included Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Arkansas. The remaining states composed the Deep South where slavery was most prevalent as shown in Figure 1.[14] Within each region, slavery held a significantly different importance. On the eve of war, slaves were nearly one-half of the total population in the Deep South. By comparison, slaves comprised one-third of the population in Middle South states and less than one-eighth of the population in the Border South.[15]

Geographic divides existed within each region as well. The majority of free southern citizens accepted planter class and Democratic Party political dominance, and the societal structure it imposed, but those who stood in opposition did so fervently. In New Orleans, the Deep South's largest free black community of 11,000 collectively owned $2 million worth of property by 1860. They privately financed schools, orphanages, and benevolent societies and "dominated skilled crafts like bricklaying, cigar making, carpentry, and shoemaking."[16] Ironically, some free blacks in New Orleans were themselves slaveholders. Antoine Dubuclet, Louisiana's state treasurer during Reconstruction, was a sugar planter with more than 100 slaves.[17] Elsewhere in the South, white abolitionists, like Sarah and Angelina Grimke of South Carolina, demanded compensated emancipation for slaves as early as the 1830s.[18]

Despite growing resentment for slavery, two late eighteenth century developments made abolition nearly impossible for southern society, particularly the Deep South. Eli

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[12] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 12.
[13] The Border South included Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri.
[14] David C. Downing, *A South Divided: Portraits of Dissent in the Confederacy* (Nashville, TN: Cumberland House, 2007), 23.
[15] Downing, *A South Divided*, 73.
[16] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 47-8.
[17] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 47.
[18] Downing, *A South Divided*, 28-31.

Whitney's invention of the cotton gin and the political pressures of westward expansion precluded any possibility Southern legislators would voluntarily emancipate the slave population. Combined, both occurrences revived intense feelings of independence, reminiscent of those throughout the Colonies prior to the Revolutionary War. Notions of property rights, independence and liberty based on a cultural truth that the family man alone was the master of his household, coalesced with common social causes, including white supremacy, to unify southern defiance of centralized authority in Washington.[19] When northerners attacked the institution of slavery, "the yeomanry viewed it more as an assault on the independent household" than a critique of Southern race relations.[20] Their collective fervor first appeared economically. Ironically, many northern citizens ascribed to similar notions of racial superiority.

The US industrial revolution peaked in the first decades of the 1800s, sparking a market revolution and a significant development gap between north and south. The North, dependent on immigrant labor working for sub-human wages, professed a moral superiority over their southern brethren who relied on similar working conditions under the institution of slavery. North and South benefited from increased demand, but by mid-century, Southerners felt subservient to northern interests because the North enjoyed "disproportionate growth, wealth, and power to control economic structures."[21] Interstate tariffs levied by northern states on the purchase of finished goods by the southern population added to subservient sentiment across the South.[22] Mechanized production in northern factories increased demand for southern agricultural output, especially cotton.

The cotton boom of the late 1840s and 1850s expanded crop production beyond the plantation belt. In South Carolina, 80 % of up country yeomanry who owned their own land "were enmeshed in the cotton economy," and of these, half owned at least one slave.[23] The market revolution transformed southern society and the role of slavery. Long defended as a social institution based on paternalism, slavery became the primary

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[19] Larry Hudson, "Slavery and the Old South," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 64.
[20] Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," 88.
[21] John Larsen, "The Market Revolution," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 53.
[22] Larsen, "The Market Revolution," 54.
[23] Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," 84.

means by which southern farmers and planters alike believed they could achieve economic independence.[24]   Without slave labor, white farmers and plantation owners feared increased subjugation to the economic will of the North. British import practices compounded Southern economic dependence on the North. As England's manufacturing capacity grew through the mid-1800s, its manufacture's sought alternatives to high priced Southern cotton.[25] Consequently, economic disenfranchisement across the agrarian South produced political upheaval.

By the 1850s, Southern Democrats viewed personal independence and state sovereignty, rather than slavery, as the principle points of national debate while Northern Republicans and abolitionists viewed "liberty, democracy, and capitalism so intertwined as to be inseparable."[26] Slavery, a topic not adjudicated during the Constitutional Convention, became increasingly toxic following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. By 1820, Congress agreed to the Missouri Compromise and its three-fifths provision allowing pro-slavery states to count 60% of their slave population toward proportional representation in Congress.[27] Initially hailed as a victory by the South, the agreement placed pro-slavery states in an increasingly inferior position by 1850.[28] In 1857, the Supreme Court reversed all provisions of the Missouri Compromise with the *Dred Scott vs. Sanford* ruling, providing for the seemingly unlimited expansion of slavery and driving an irreparable wedge between North and South.[29] The election of Abraham Lincoln, a noted abolitionist, as President in 1860 was the catalyst for South Carolina's succession. Within three months, all Deep South states joined the secessionist cause; Middle South states followed suit after federal troops fired on Fort Sumter.[30]

The US Civil War induced a disintegration of the pre-war Southern social

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[24] Bolton, "Planters, Plain Folk, and Poor Whites in the Old South," 85.

[25] Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 102.

[26] Larsen, "The Market Revolution," 56.

[27] Larsen, "The Market Revolution," 54.

[28] The agreement permitted Missouri to enter the union as a slave state to maintain balance between pro- and anti-slavery states in the House of Representatives. In exchange for legalized slavery in Missouri, slavery was outlawed north of the 36°30' North latitude—present day northern border of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona.

[29] James B. Stewart, "Humanitarian Reform and Antislavery," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 53.

[30] Downing, *A South Divided*, 37.

structure. The greatest divide emerged between the planter class and white yeomanry populations, because the planter class' wartime agenda levied a disproportionate burden on yeomanry males who comprised the majority of the Confederate Army.[31] The 1862 passage of Confederate conscription laws were deadly for class relations. The laws, passed by planter class Democrats, exempted one white citizen for every 12 slaves to ensure discipline on plantations. In reality, it provided a means of war avoidance for wealthy planters' sons.[32] Yeomanry planters, particularly those residing outside of the plantation belt, felt the planter class who had led the South to war was "not bearing their fair share of the war's burdens."[33] The collapse of social cohesion led to pockets of opposition and lawlessness.

Although the majority of free southerners "rallied to the Confederate cause," localized opposition to secession emerged across the Middle South and eventually in the Deep South as fighting progressed with no feasible end. The split of Virginia and West Virginia was the most prescient case. Additionally, large groups of Eastern Tennessee and Northern Georgia residents voted against secession and war. In another instance, 8,000 men from the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas joined the Union Army.[34] After 1863, initial enthusiasm turned to "disillusionment, draft evasion, and eventually outright resistance to Confederate authority." In Mississippi, underground societies attempted to break the Southern war effort, encourage desertions and target family members of those who would not abandon the Confederate cause. Across the South, the yeomanry divided against itself; they comprised the majority of the Confederate Army as well as the bulk of deserters and resisters.[35] The fierce drive for independence brought only death, destruction and chaos.

By 1863, Abraham Lincoln sought to mend social wounds and welcome the South on terms more favorable than many Northern Republicans preferred. Lincoln signed the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction on 8 December 1863. Under his plan, once 10% of the 1860 voting population swore allegiance to the Union, the state would be entitled to hold a state convention, draft a constitution prohibiting slavery and elect

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[31] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 15.
[32] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 15.
[33] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 14.
[34] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 13.
[35] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 15-6.

Congressional representation. Excluding high-ranking civilian and military authorities, Lincoln's plan promised a full pardon and restoration of personal liberties for all those who swore allegiance. Lincoln's plan, however, offered little guidance concerning suffrage or judicial equality for former slaves.[36] A month before the war ended, Congress created the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau) within the War Department to assist with the transition of former slaves to freedom.[37]

The war continued until April 1865, but Reconstruction began in occupied territories of the South and Union States with legalized slavery as early as 1862. Eastern Tennessee and Southern Louisiana were the first areas occupied by Union troops. Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson as Tennessee's military governor in 1862 where he remained until joining Lincoln in Washington as Vice President in 1865. As governor, Johnson shed his Southern Democrat roots on two pivotal occasions. First, he fired the Mayor of Nashville and the City Council for refusing to swear allegiance to the Union. Second, with the support of 25,000 repatriated voters, the only legal voters according to Lincoln's 1863 proclamation, Johnson passed a state referendum to abolish slavery.[38] Coincidently, the four Border States that remained with the Union—Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and West Virginia—underwent a social reconstruction of sorts after emancipation and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. Ratification passed by the narrowest of margins in each of the four Border States, demonstrating the thin social barriers that actually separated North from South.[39] On the eve of surrender at Appomattox Court House in April 1865, Northern Republicans expected their thoroughly defeated foe to acknowledge defeat, reject slavery and embrace Southern Unionists.[40] The experience of Reconstruction, the second war, would indicate otherwise.

Afghanistan: Historical Traits and Civil War Period

Vertical class structures permeate Afghan society, defining social interactions from national governance to the basic family unit. Male dominated family structures form the basis for tribal authority and regional stability. During times of peace, these

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[36] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 36.

[37] Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 257.

[38] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 43-4.

[39] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 37.

[40] Millett, *For the Common Defense*, 257

relationships have provided order, but in war, they fomented deep societal divisions. At the national level, the Pashtun peoples of southern and eastern Afghanistan have dominated governance since Afghanistan's formal birth in the mid-eighteenth century.

Pashtun tribal leader Ahmad Shah Abdali founded Afghanistan in 1747 as a loose confederation of ethnically connected chieftaincies astride the waning Moghul and Safavid Empires in India and Persia.[41] Abdali subsequently changed his surname, uniting his ethnic confederation of Pashtuns under the name Durrani. Durrani Pashtuns, to include President Hamid Karzai, have used their assessorial lineage as descendants of Ahmad Shah to justify their de facto ruling class status.[42]

The nature of Afghanistan's origin, a confederation of chieftaincies, has historically limited the reach of centralized authority. Afghanistan's stability has always rested on a delicate balance of central authority and peripheral autonomy; national governance traditionally extended to the six principle urban populations while the periphery remained insulated.[43] The symbiotic relationship offered tacit peripheral endorsement of centrally controlled state affairs in exchange for localized tribal independence.[44] During Afghanistan's first two centuries in existence as a modern state, the Sadozai (1747-1818) and Barakzai (1826-1929) dynasties maintained a tenuous relationship with peripheral Afghan tribes. At times, leaders "were able to exercise prescriptive and regulative functions in the Afghan polity" and in other instances rulers "simply struggled to survive."[45] In contrast, King Zahir Shah's monarchical reign from 1933 to 1973 was the most stable period in modern history and the last instance of broad peace. Zahir Shah's influence "did not penetrate deep into the countryside," but his government enjoyed widespread internal and external legitimacy.[46]

Peripheral autonomy meant individual Afghans' survived only according to the support available through traditional family and tribal structures, and not by centrally

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[41] Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012), 19.
[42] William Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, United States Institute of Peace Special Report 314 (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, Spring 2012), 3.
[43] Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011), 21. The six principle urban centers are Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif, Jalalabad, and Kunduz.
[44] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 4.
[45] Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival*, 4.
[46] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 2.

directed services. Consequently, Afghan political structures are an expression of ethnically driven tribal codes of conduct and broadly shared Islamic beliefs. For the Pashtun peoples, the *Pashtunwali* code predates the arrival of Islam and prioritizes "honor, hospitality, protection of women, and revenge."[47] Islam first appeared with Arabian invaders in the late seventh century, but tribes did not passively succumb to the foreign theology or its secular implications. Instead, as future Afghan rulers and invaders would conclude, the Arab armies confined their efforts to urban centers allowing rural tribes to convert gradually over time.[48] As Islam spread, it reinforced the already patriarchal nature of regional tribes. Similarly, the use of forceful conversion by Arab armies was coincidental with the violent nature of existing diverse tribal codes that prioritized honor and revenge. The numerous tribal codes, representative of Afghanistan's founding as a confederation of chieftaincies, typifies the ethnic diversity that still undergirds relative religious homogeneity in Afghanistan.[49]

Afghanistan, since 1747, has existed as a complex societal mosaic. Pashtuns comprise the largest percentage of the modern-day state, but with roughly 40% of the population, they do not hold a majority.[50] The expansive state united under the leadership of Ahmad Shah in 1747 included Pashtun peoples beyond Afghanistan's present national border with Pakistan. In fact, the designations of *Pashtun* and *Afghan* were interchangeable prior to 1772, when Ahmad Shah's army captured the city of Kabul and subjugated the non-Pashtun tribes of present-day Northern and Western Afghanistan. Shah subsequently transferred the Afghan capital from Pashtun-dominated Kandahar to centrally located Kabul.[51] Currently, Afghanistan's non-Pashtun ethnicities comprise the population's remaining 60 %: 30% Tajik, 15% Hazara, and roughly 15% a combination of Uzbek, Turkmen, and other peoples.[52] Consequently, regionally focused ethnic complexity, as shown in Figure 2, is inherent to Afghanistan. Based on history, large segments of the Pashtun population view ethnic Pashtuns as the only true Afghans,

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[47] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 9.

[48] Stephan Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War Against the Taliban* (Philadelphia, PA: Da Capo Press), 75-76.

[49] Afghanistan is 99% Muslim—80% are Sunni and 20% are Shi'ite.

[50] Tanner, *Afghanistan*, 7.

[51] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 2009),7.

[52] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 7.

though even within the Pashtun population a significant divide exists.[53]
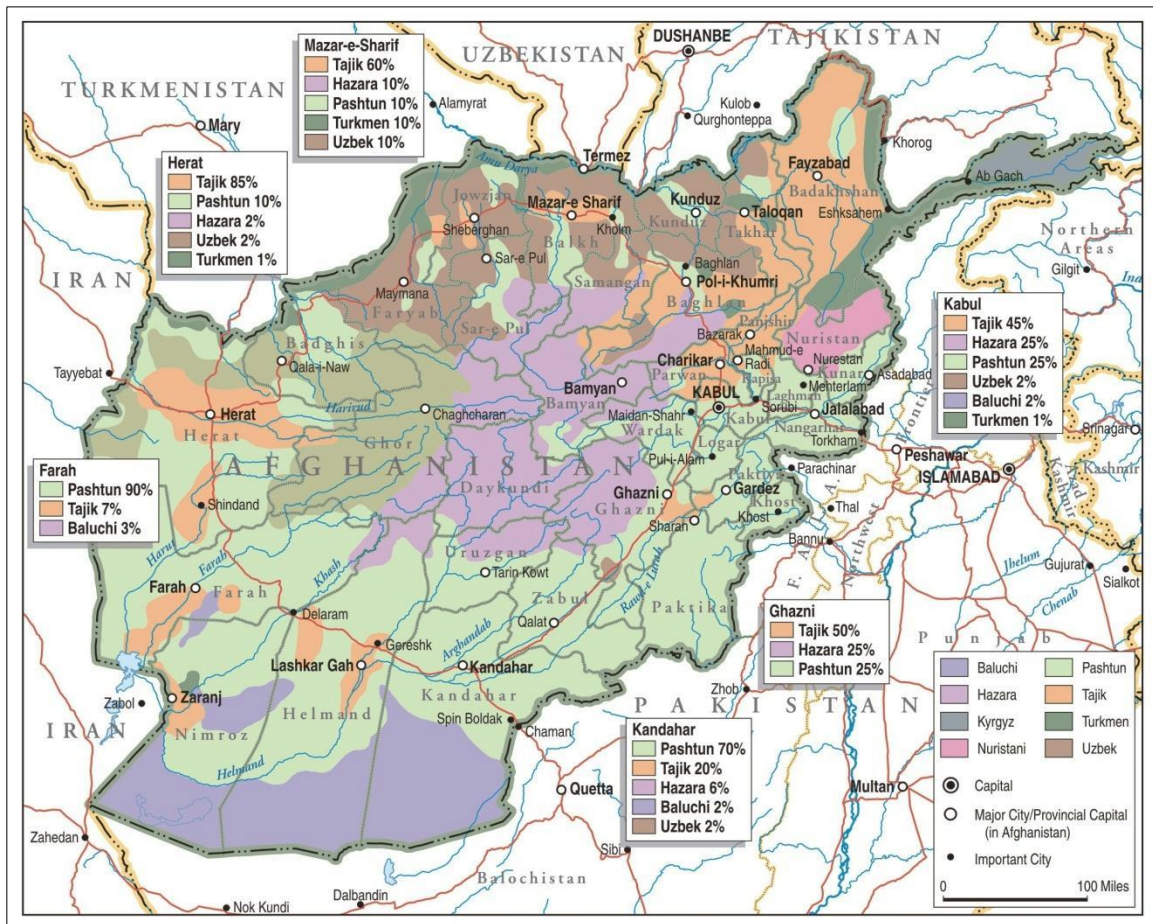
Figure 2: Urban and Rural Ethnic Complexity in Afghanistan
Source: Institute for the Study of War, 2009, "Afghanistan's Ethno-Linguistic Groups,"
http://www.understandingwar.org/map/afghanistans-ethno-linguistic-groups

The Pashtun population, like all Afghan tribal structures, evolved through conflict

with history's most dominant empires. The 400 Pashtun tribes belong to one of two

dominant sub-groups, Durrani or Ghilzai. The divide predates Durrani consolidation

under Ahmad Shah. Ghilzai tribes dominated the eastern section of modern-day

Afghanistan and western Pakistan, and primarily quarreled with the Moghul Empire.

Abdali, or Durrani, tribes resided in the region between Kandahar and Herat, clashing

with the Safavid Empire,[54] though the more warlike Ghilzai tribes were principally

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[53] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, 7. Rashid states, "Ancient invaders, such as the Persians, Greeks, and the
Turkic tribes of Central Asians, Arabs, the Mongols under Genghis Khan in AD 1219, and the Moghuls,
either swept through Afghanistan on their way to India and Persia, or occupied it. Each invasion left
behind social, cultural, or ethnic legacies that were to add to the mosaic of modern Afghanistan."
[54] Tanner, *Afghanistan*, 114.

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responsible for the end of Safavid influence in Pashtun territories.[55] The Ghilzai tribes, adhering to traditional egalitarian structures common among rural tribal peoples, were "incapable of building a dynasty of their own. A generation later, their more hierarchical cousins, the Durrani Pashtuns," proved more suited to dynastic rule.[56]

A century after the decline of the Moghul and Safavid Empires, Afghanistan became a frontline for Europe's Great Game, a contest between the British and Russian states to colonize Central Asia. The Russians sought to dominate the Eurasian Steppe while the British were intent on checking Russian advances and protecting colonial holdings in India. The British Army extended territorial claims beyond India, enveloping Pashtun tribal lands and the city of Kabul. After three strategically indecisive and bloody contests with Afghan tribes, the British withdrew permanently and imposed the Durand line, separating Afghanistan and modern-day Pakistan and bisecting Pashtun tribal claims for the benefit of their India holdings.[57]

Afghanistan's intricate physical and ethnic geographies compounded the effects of historical complexity. Topography created distinct societies within the larger state. The Hindu Kush mountain range divides Afghanistan and its ethnic societies into halves. Pashtuns dominate the south and east of Afghanistan while Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek populations principally reside in the regions northwest of Kabul.[58] The Chahar Aimaq peoples, heavily influenced by their Persian descent, populate the west surrounding Herat.[59] The Hazara tribes, descendants of Genghis Khan's thirteenth century Mongol invaders, inhabit the mountainous region in between.[60] Ahmad Shah's decision to relocate his capital to Kabul in 1772 provided a more central location from which to govern, but it did little to extend Pashtun influence to peripheral non-Pashtun tribal networks because of Afghanistan's mountainous terrain. Consequently, rural tribes have historically been more conservative and more opposed to modernization than urban

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[55] Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 89.

[56] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 89.

[57] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 16.

[58] Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil & Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 7.

[59] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 28. The four tribes populate the ancient region of Ghor, though they dispersed in the nineteenth century after being violently targeted by the central government in Kabul.

[60] Rashid, *Taliban*, 68.

tribes. When central authority has imposed liberal social agendas on culturally opposed rural tribes, civil war has ensued.

Since the Great Game period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rushed modernization programs have universally incited conflict between urban rulers and peripheral communities.[61] Modernization attempts "affecting religion, culture, and the role of women" have been the single most significant catalyst for civil conflict.[62] After achieving victory and regaining self-rule from the British after the third Afghan-Anglo War in 1919, Afghanistan's new ruler, Amanullah, pursued a liberal agenda of "taxation, conscription, and social changes, such as education for women."[63] Amanullah, who viewed himself as "an Afghan version of [Turkey's] Kemal Attaturk," suppressed revolts among eastern Afghan tribes. Eventually, Amanullah pushed his secular vision of a modern state too far, inciting the Civil War of 1929.[64] Conversely, gradual modernization efforts were successful when restricted to urban areas under Zahir Shah from the 1950s to the 1970s. Unfortunately, Daoud, Zahir Shah's cousin and former Prime Minister, reversed those gains by aggressively extending social reforms to peripheral tribes following a coup d'état in 1973, setting the stage for revolt subsequent communist ascension in 1978.

Just as the rural tribal structure has demanded autonomy from central rule, Afghan society has collectively remained fiercely defiant when faced with foreign aggression, earning Afghanistan an imposing reputation as the "graveyard of empires." Afghan tribes have outlasted the Greeks, Mongols, Persians, Arabs, British, and Russians among others. Each civilization has left an indelible mark on Afghan landscape, but Afghanistan, in-turn, has reciprocated. The British required 80 years and three wars to derive the same conclusion the Soviets did in a decade. Consequently, all Afghans have a sense of national honor based largely on defeating invaders in battle.[65] Their sense of independence also affects a ruler's authority, whose legitimacy depends on the appearance of strength among domestic rivals and independence from foreign authority.[66]

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[61] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 20.
[62] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 4.
[63] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 18.
[64] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 18.
[65] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 10.
[66] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 3.

Dependence, however, has been the norm for Afghanistan. The nation's most stabile periods have coincided with abundant foreign economic assistance. The British were the first modern state to provide aid in the nineteenth century.[67] Foreign financial support from the Soviets and Americans also enabled Zahir Shah to perpetuate four decades of stability during the Cold War. The Soviets alone provided Afghanistan with $1.26 billion in economic aid and $1.25 billion in military aid between 1956 and 1978.[68] Although acceptance of aid never produced tangible benefit for the financier, a precipitous decline or wholesale discontinuance of aid produced a perilous power vacuum and insurrection. In 1842, a British decision promptly cutting off aid in and around Kabul sparked a popular massacre of the British garrison and defeat in the First Afghan War.[69] A painting, *The Remnants of the Army*, portrays Dr. William Brydon as the lone British survivor from Kabul to cross the Khyber Pass back into British-controlled India.[70]

Afghanistan's most-recent civil war period began in 1978, for reasons common to previous warring periods. After seizing control from Daoud Shah, Afghan leftist supported by Soviet trained Afghan Army officers, "ran afoul of entrenched interests and a very conservative populace in the countryside that jealously guarded its autonomy."[71] The direct intervention by Soviet military forces in 1979 due to fears the Afghan government was gravitating to the US sphere of influence compounded the threat of traditional Afghan autonomy. The Soviet presence provided common cause for all Afghans not supportive of communist ideology. The mujahedeen banner also drew financial and military support from radical Islamist movements already active across the Middle East and Indonesia, the broader Muslim world, and the US. Saudi Arabian and American monies financed Wahhabi madrassas and training centers in Western Pakistan to train Afghan fighters and exhaust Soviet will. The flow of young Afghan and Islamist fighters seemed endless; the Soviets shifted strategy in 1986 and withdrew by 1989, but the Islamist network in Pakistan and many foreign fighters remained to contest the Soviet

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[67] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 4.
[68] Rashid, *Taliban*, 13.
[69] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 5.
[70] Karl E. Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1999), 52.
[71] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 20-21.

backed government in Kabul led by Najibullah, a communist but ethnic Pashtun.

The struggle over central authority continued after the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989. The Soviet government provided military aid to Najibullah's regime for three additional years, but abruptly ceased when the government in Moscow collapsed.[72] As with previous episodes in Afghanistan, the government was unable to survive without external assistance. Tajik and Uzbek mujahedeen fighters captured Kabul and imprisoned Najibullah in 1992 and "for the first time in 300 years the Pashtuns had lost control of the capital." An intra-Afghan contest for Kabul ensued immediately; Pashtun fighters led Gulbuddin Hikmetyar laid siege to the city.[73] Total warfare and personal atrocities engulfed the Afghan state as former mujahedeen leaders turned warlords and brigands.

The Taliban offered a means to quell the warlord-induced chaos and restore Pashtuns to their preeminent position. Mullah Omar, a Ghilzai Pashtun, raised a 200-man tribal army in the summer of 1994 and defeated Kandahar's principle warlord. Omar's ranks swelled to 12,000 fighters by December, supported by the Pakistani madrassas that supplied the steady flow of anti-Soviet fighters.[74] Taliban forces captured Kabul in 1996, publically executed Najibullah and by 2001 controlled the entire state save its isolated northeast panhandle. As with the Afghan leftists who seized control in 1978, however, the Taliban's Islamist ideology was every bit as foreign to Afghan society as the nineteenth century British expeditions.

The Taliban, named for the madrassa student movement that supplied its fighters, was a collection of non-traditional Afghans, advancing an Islamist ideology foreign to Afghan tribes that clung to blends of unique tribal codes and Islamic beliefs. As Taliban elements swept through tribal territories, they "implemented the strictest interpretation of Sharia law in the Muslim world. They closed down girls' schools and banned women from working outside the home, smashed TV sets, forbade a whole array of sports and recreational activities and ordered all males to grow long beards."[75] Taliban Pashtuns,

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[72] Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, 9.
[73] Rashid, *Taliban*, 21.
[74] Rashid, *Taliban*, 29.
[75] Rashid, *Taliban*, 29. According to Thomas Barfield (*Afghanistan*, 65), however, a nuisance is also present in the Taliban's imposition of more conservative social restraints that go beyond Islamic tenets, perhaps offering an explanation as to why Taliban rule was the most strict interpretation to Sharia Law in

many of whom spent their entire life as war refugees in the Pakistan madrassa system, had little knowledge of traditional Afghan ways. Along with foreign Islamists, their ultra-conservative brand of Islam forcefully replaced traditional Afghan tribal codes. The imposition of Islamic authority was formalized on 4 April 1996; Omar donned the Cloak of the Prophet Mohammed and declared himself *Amir ul-Momineen*, Commander of the Faithful, thereby professing his authority to lead all Afghans and the broader Muslim world.[76] Omar's lack of tribal lineage from Ahmad Shah Durrani and the broader absence of direct lineage to Mohammed offended non-Taliban Afghans and many Durrani tribes. Although Osama bin Laden and his highly trained Islamist army provided Mullah Omar with a means to gain decisive tactical advantage, Taliban military deficiencies left them unable to defeat the Northern Alliance outright. On September 9, 2001, however, al Qaeda operatives posing as a western media crew assassinated Northern Alliance leader Ahmad Shah Masoud; a Taliban victory seemed with reach.

Omar's 1997 decision to welcome bin Laden placed the Taliban regime on a collision course with the US. American military involvement in October 2001, one month after the infamous 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington D.C., decisively turned the tide of Afghanistan's civil war against the Taliban. Northern Alliance forces, supported by US Special Forces and coalition aircraft, rapidly drove the battered Taliban army back to the mountainous region along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border by the end of 2001. The speed of apparent victory surprised most, but the second war would be decidedly different.

Conclusion

The Reconstruction South and post-2001 Afghanistan share common circumstance as well as engrained societal traits that serve as the basis for comparison. Prior to war in both societies vertical differentiation based on economic and ethnic standing created a cast-like system; each population was a complex mosaic of social and ethnic groups; and both held class, ethnic, and societal autonomy in the highest regard. Additionally, both societies' experienced sustained periods of relative peace followed by

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the Muslim world. Here, Barfield contends, is where the "long-standing clash of values between luxury-loving urbanites and the puritanical rural villagers" complicates the overly simplistic societal divisions attributed to religious and ethnic differences.

[76] Rashid, *Taliban*, 42.

catastrophic civil war and externally imposed reconstruction. In the South and Afghanistan, external oversight and military presence following war suppressed traditional societal traits, but at least in the South, suppression did not equate to elimination once external pressures departed.

CHAPTER 2
Analysis of Socio-Political Factors

Afghanistan's path to reconstruction has been tread by "conflict between those [intent on] the reimplementation of a centralized, top-down, king-like authority, and those [seeking] a new model of political organization derived from the cooperation and consent of the governed."[1] Reconstruction of the South followed a similar course. A comparison of the South and Afghanistan based on the three common societal traits—intertwined class structures, a complex social mosaic, and the desire for autonomy—reveals extensive socio-political symmetry. First, a clash between old and new societal structures defined reconstruction's political progression in the South and Afghanistan. Second, both societies' mosaic landscape cast widespread similarity concerning political participation and education of previously disenfranchised populations. Third, a shared societal reverence for autonomy appeared from an internal clash between dependence on external support and resistance to foreign will. Ultimately, physical and psychological devastation wrought by civil war produced two populations in search of a stable future.

Class Structure: Old versus New Form of Governance

Civil war and reconstruction challenged the pre-war political order in the South and Afghanistan. In both cases, successful political ascent preceded fractional division, patronage politics and political corruption that undermined popular support. Although the power struggle in Afghanistan was one predominantly defined by ethnic and tribal loyalty, the South's struggle beginning in 1865 was principally a function of political party affiliation.

Shortly after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln in April 1865, political unity fractured in the capitol and dampened euphoric feelings of victory that should have carried the North through Reconstruction's early days. Initial Republican support for Presidential Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson waned because of his perceived *laissez-faire* approach with the defeated South. Although Republicans in Congress expected the South to accept defeat, a beaten but defiant population emerged in 1865. Johnson did far less to impose the policies his Congressional opponents thought

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[1] Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 293.

appropriate, and certainly less than he had done as military governor of Tennessee. Indeed, Johnson favored the resurgence of the planter class political dominance in the wake of war to ensure his reelection in 1870 at the expense of any suffrage rights for former slaves. With tacit presidential support, Southerners interested in a return to the pre-war political structure subjected those "who publically advocated any form of black voting" to "tremendous abuse."[2] Ardent northern abolitionist and Radical Republican Congressman Thaddeus Stevens received a report that "the rebellious spirit [in Georgia] was greater than when the state seceded from the Union."[3] Despite his detractors, President Johnson remained convinced the Constitution only afforded the federal government a limited role in state affairs.[4] Johnson's loose application of Lincoln's 10% clause and lax enforcement of the ban prohibiting political participation by high-ranking Confederate leaders enabled Southern voters to defy central authority by "choosing men to represent them at home and in Congress who had held leadership in rebellion."[5] Consequently, all ten southern state legislatures elected under Presidential Reconstruction voted against ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment by overwhelming majorities and "unionists [in the South] remained a beleaguered minority."[6] In opposition to Johnson's leniency, Republicans pursued a centrally directed reconstruction plan.

Most Republicans in Congress did not seek "a broad, permanent extension of national legislative power," but thought temporary federal authority was necessary to institute changes the South proved incapable of achieving internally.[7] In 1867, the new Republican Congress, with more than a two-thirds majority, wrested control of Reconstruction away from Johnson and the newly elected Democratic state governments. After overriding a Presidential veto, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867, dividing the South, except Tennessee; into the five military districts shown in Figure 3;

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[2] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Collins Inc., 1988), 191-2.

[3] Jack B. Scoggs, "Southern Reconstruction: A Radical View," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 406.

[4] LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, "Johnson and the Negro," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 65.

[5] Cox, "Johnson and the Negro," 65.

[6] Foner, Reconstruction, 269.

[7] Michael Les Benedict, "The Conservative Basis of Radical Reconstruction," in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 322.

empowering US Army personnel to protect life and property; declaring all elected southern governments provisional and open to modification by federal authorities; and instituting clear requirements for state reconciliation.[8] The installment of military supervision established state and local governments as an extension of federal authority, shifting Reconstruction's political battles from Washington to the South. In essence, Union Army control returned to the South in 1867 with Radical Reconstruction.
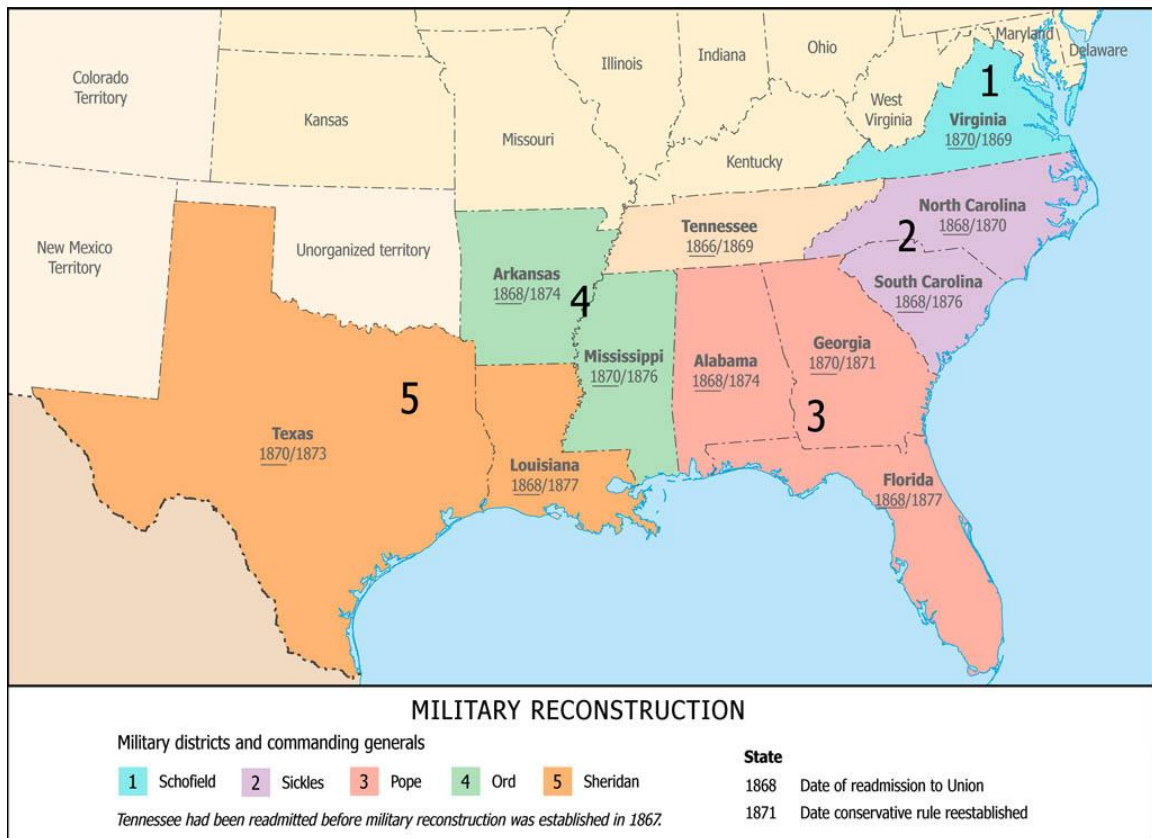
Figure 3: Radical Reconstruction Military Districts
Source: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,2009,"Military Reconstruction," http://www.learnnc.org/lp/media/uploads/2009/08/military_reconstruction.jpg

Factional division and corruption marred the successes of Radical Republican governance. Military governors arrived in 1867 with near dictatorial authority, deposing elected governors in Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, and elsewhere as "obstacle[s] to reconstruction." Among larger towns and cities, where changes were most extensive, "the municipal administration…was remanned by military authority."[9] In accordance

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[8] Foner, Reconstruction, 276.

[9] William A. Dunning, "*Military Government in the South During Reconstruction," Political Science Quarterly*, 12, no. 3 (September 1897), 393-4.

with the Reconstruction Act, military authorities held state conventions, inevitably dominated by northern carpetbaggers, southern scalawags, and freedmen. The conventions, with almost no Democrat or conservative representation, adopted constitutions consistent with Republican reconstruction aims, encouraging future agendas of broad spending and social conformity, but those goals had little indigenous southern support, and even exposed divisions within the southern Republican Party. In South Carolina, the Republican budget in 1873 was double that of Democrats in1860.[10] In particular, policies favorable toward railroad expansion ushered in rampant corruption among Republican officials during the Grant Presidency. White yeomanry, outraged over corrupt practices and government culpability in the Depression of 1873, shifted upcountry support to Southern Democrats. The Yeomanry tide "convert[ed] a congressional delegation that was 90% white Republican in 1866 into one that was four-fifths white Democrat by 1874."[11] The Southern shift was part of a sweeping national reversal that favored the 170-seat Democratic swing in the US House of Representatives, foreshadowing the end of Reconstruction with comprehensive Redemption across the South in 1876.[12]

As with Andrew Johnson's initial ascent in the wake of Lincoln's death, a short period of relative political harmony initiated the political process in Afghanistan. Beginning in November 2001, while Northern Alliance and coalition forces were battling Taliban fighters across Afghanistan, the United Nations convened a gathering of Afghan political factions in Bonn, Germany to select a provisional national authority. All principle Afghan factions attended except those supporting the Taliban, leaving southern Pashtun tribes with a disproportionately small voice in the proceedings. The diminished position, however, did not degrade the Pashtun's role in the new government, as the hierarchical Durrani line once again proved more politically adept than their egalitarian Ghilzai counterparts.[13] The soon-to-be victorious Northern Alliance factions backed a Pashtun nominee, from the southern Durrani tribes that had opposed Taliban rule, as the

[10] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 365.
[11] Earl Black and Merle Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), 11.
[12] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 523.
[13] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 283.

interim head of state in exchange for most key ministerial positions.[14] The disparate factions achieved consensus on 3 December, far earlier than anticipated by international observers. Optimism over Afghanistan's future and a long awaited peace permeated negotiations, but the international community insisted Hamid Karzai's government acquire popular approval to ensure long-term legitimacy.

The emergency *jirga* in June 2002 confirmed Hamid Karzai, leader of the Popalzai tribe and descendant of Ahmad Shah Durrani, as interim Afghanistan President, restoring apparent political balance to the Afghan state. Durrani Pashtuns had presided over Afghanistan from 1747 to 1978, but the more warlike and quicker to act Ghilzai tribes overshadowed the Durrani during the civil wars after 1978. Northern Alliance factions, knowing they did not possess the proper lineage or majority position to preside over Pashtun tribes without instigating further war, supported Karzai, favoring traditional Durrani acceptance of ethnic differences and regional nuisance in exchange for political stability, rather than the egalitarian and less tolerant Ghilzai authority.[15]

Constitutional ambiguity and unchecked executive authority, however, transformed a seemingly cooperative governing coalition into a heated power struggle between branches of government in Kabul unable to coexist peacefully.[16] Three causes hastened Afghanistan's decade-long power struggle: the *jirga* process, the Constitution, and a prohibition of political parties. The *jirga* requires consensus to reach decision, but consensus dictates ambiguous language to satisfy all factional interests. To reach agreement, the new Afghan Constitution assumed the basic structure of its 1964 predecessor, drafted under the rule of King Zahir Shah, including the weak system of checks and balances intentionally installed by the monarch.[17] A weak constitution paired with a general Afghan abhorrence for political parties after communist rule, granted President Karzai broad and unchecked authority akin to the monarchical reigns of prior Durrani leaders. Perhaps most telling, Karzai's opposition to legalized political parties symbolized the tension between peripheral tribes and centralized authority. Durrani Pashtuns, led by Karzai, support a strong monarchical-type structure; non-Pashtuns

[14] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 284.
[15] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 284.
[16] International Crisis Group, *Afghanistan: The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition* (Brussels, Belgium: International Crisis Group, October 2012), 2.
[17] International Crisis Group, *Afghanistan, 2*.

generally desire a weak monarchical structure that offers general security and stability, but allows for peripheral preference; and Ghilzai Pashtun tribes long for a return to an egalitarian state. Competing interests characterized the 2005 and 2010 Parliamentary elections.

The 2005 Parliamentary election threatened Karzai's political position, but the 2010 election nearly ruined the nation as unchecked voter fraud sparked open feuds similar to those between Republicans and Democrats over reconciliation policy in 1866 and 1867. President Karzai, less than one year after a decisive victory in the 2004 Presidential election, viewed widespread voter turnout in 2005 with concern despite overwhelming international enthusiasm. In short, increased popular legitimacy of the Parliament threatened Karzai's extensive constitutional authority.[18] In October 2010, however, the success of 2005 seemed a distant memory to outside observers. Rampant corruption and irregularities caused the Independent Election Commission (IEC) to invalidate 1.3 million votes, 25% of total ballots cast.[19] The decision disqualified 62 candidates; many were Pashtun, causing Karzai to intimidate IEC members out of fear that his Pashtun majority in the *Wolesi Jirga* might be lost. Physical confrontations ensued in Parliament as non-Pashtun members discussed impeachment proceedings.[20] Perhaps conceding his actions were too aggressive, Karzai encouraged a compromise but the underlying questions regarding the bounds of Presidential authority remained unresolved.

As with Radical Republicans legislatures, widespread corruption accompanied intra-governmental squabbling. Fraudulent voter registrations, tacitly endorsed by the Karzai regime, produced a duplicitous voter registry that precipitated intra-governmental mayhem and undercut popular legitimacy. Of the 17 million voter cards issued by 2009, seven million were surplus, but Presidential support for a validated voter registry waned amidst concern that the registry might contest the long-held assumption of Pashtun numerical dominance. [21] Karzai's support, however, remained strong for those under his employ. The President's family members and close associates litter national and

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[18] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 301.
[19] Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012), 252.
[20] International Crisis Group, *Afghanistan*, 4.
[21] International Crisis Group, *Afghanistan*, 15.

provincial positions, a common practice in Afghan politics. In a gross example of corruption, a 2012 audit of the Kabul Bank implicated Mahmoud Karzai, the President's brother, in a money-laundering scheme that dispersed 92% of the Kabul Bank's $861 million to 19 Afghan elites through fictitious companies and foreign banks—the President's brother received $30 million.[22] Furthermore, Karzai has refused to fire corrupt provincial governors and cabinet members, preferring to move them to another location or less visible office. In short, Karzai has "turned out to be another…Pashtun Khan," using "his powers and international support to fill important governmental positions on the basis of family, tribal, ethnic and factional connections, and to engage in building patronage networks."[23] As with the white yeomanry of the South during the 1870s, the Afghan people grew resentful of the government's entrenched "abuse of power, impunity and lack of justice."[24]

In both cases, opportunity derived from battlefield victory disintegrated into political power struggles in the halls of government. In the South, the national contest between Democrats and Republicans continued among federally sanctioned reconstruction governments. Republican agendas and corruption fractured the political party and their tenuous hold on power. In Afghanistan, open confrontation between the President and the *jirga* was coincident with similar forms of corruption and patronage politics, and created a path for Taliban resurgence. In both cases, open hostility and dishonest practices denigrated popular faith in government and blunted momentum for social change.

Societal Mosaic: Measured Social Change

Societal change during reconstruction of the South and Afghanistan was superficial; in the case of the South, it proved temporary and in Afghanistan, it promises to be ephemeral. Improvements in political participation and education for disenfranchised minorities show commonality between the South and Afghanistan. In the

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[22] Matthew Rosenberg, "Audit Says Kabul Bank Began as Ponzi Scheme," *New York Times*, 28 November 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/27/world/asia/kabul-bank-audit-details-extent-of-fraud.html?pagewanted=1&hp&_r=0. (accessed 21 January 2012)

[23] Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan*, 253.

[24] House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Afghan National Security Forces: Afghan Corruption and the Development of an Effective Fighting Force*, 112th, 2 August 2012, 2, http://www.brookings.edu/research/testimony/2012/08/02-afghanistan-security-felbabbrown. (accessed 21 January 2012)

South, social achievements "failed to live up to the lofty goals with which [Republican] Reconstruction began."[25]   Redeemer Democrats returned with the rising yeomanry tide, ending Reconstruction and federal oversight with the election of 1876. Social changes instituted in Afghanistan during the Constitutional *jirga* process appear equally tenuous.

In 1865, the newly emancipated Freedmen population organized across the urban South in eager pursuit of their newfound freedom.[26] Along with state conventions, local churches served as the principal host for political organization during Presidential Reconstruction where religious leaders reinforced republicanism. Increasingly, southern blacks "proclaimed their identification with the nation's history, destiny and political system."[27] Self-organization proved critical during Presidential Reconstruction due to Johnson's "hands-off" policy concerning freedmen political participation.[28] Constrained to urban areas until 1866, the movement extended to the plantation belt with Radical Reconstruction in 1867. Internal efforts by former slaves during Presidential Reconstruction gained Congressional endorsement under Radical Reconstruction, but lacked effective state and local government support during the same period.

The Republican Party became as central an institution in the black community as churches or schools during Radical Reconstruction.[29] In 1867, a sense of autonomy gripped the freedmen population and "politics emerged as the principal…aspiration."[30] Coincident with the rising Republican tide, the black community achieved tremendous political success across the South. From 1867 to 1875, more than 600 southern blacks served as state legislators, the majority of whom were former slaves.[31] In Mississippi, the Republican Party assumed control of state governance in 1869 with the popular support of 90,000 blacks and only 20,000 whites. Despite an overwhelming majority of voters, the 1870 Mississippi legislature included only 31 black legislators among its 107 members as native white and carpetbagger Republicans maintained control of party

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[25] Foner, Reconstruction, 365.

[26] Eric Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction," *The Journal of American History*, 74, no. 3 (December 1987), 872.

[27] Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction," 876, 873.

[28] LaWand Cox and John H. Cox, "Johnson and the Negro," 63.

[29] Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction," 878.

[30] Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction," 874.

[31] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 355.

leadership positions.[32] By 1874, blacks comprised a majority in the South Carolina state
Senate and owned nearly every seat in the lower House.[33] Political success also extended
to municipalities and cities, but there social change ran headlong into Old South
opposition. Perceived efforts to elevate the status of former slaves above the white
yeomanry proved too dramatic, fracturing Republican Party loyalty along primarily racial
lines.

Opponents of social modernization first gained traction at the local level, where
by 1870 hundreds of blacks served as police officers and rural constables. Under Radical
Reconstruction, Tallahassee and Little Rock hired black police chiefs while New Orleans
and Vicksburg employed black police Captains. Common to every case, former slaves
were empowered to give orders to white officers.[34] In Vicksburg and elsewhere across
Mississippi, however, the employment of former slaves in law enforcement roles was too
dramatic a change for southern Democrats. Opposition in Meridian led to an 1871 riot
and provided the "central theme of attack on the Republican [state] government in
Jackson."[35] Localized backlashes in Mississippi and elsewhere spread across the South
through 1874, culminating in Democratic Redemption in 1876 and the eventual
imposition of poll taxes and other constraining mechanisms that limited voting eligibility
of southern black males.

The growth and decline of political participation among the southern black
population mirrored the realities of public education. A general thirst for education
consumed the freedmen population after emancipation. Every southern state, except
Tennessee, outlawed education of slaves before the Civil War.[36] After 1865, however,
southern blacks pooled resources in countless communities across the South to buy land,
build schoolhouses and pay teachers, collectively spending over $1 million by 1870.[37]
Eventually, however, costs were too burdensome; community leaders turned to the
Freedman's Bureau and benevolent northern charities for financial support. After 1868,

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[32] Vernon L. Wharton, "The Negro and Politics, 1870-1875," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 338, 358.
[33] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 354.
[34] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 362.
[35] Wharton, "The Negro and Politics, 1870-1875," 352.
[36] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 96.
[37] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 98.

the Freedman's Bureau funded over 3,000 schools and 150,000 pupils across the South.[38] With re-admittance to the Union, state governments assumed financial responsibility for public education and Republican legislatures instituted robust public education programs across the South. As with political participation though, the dramatic gains were short-lived.

To ensure continued white support at the local and state levels, white Republican leaders did not insist upon integrated schooling. According to Eric Foner, regardless of political affiliation, "white parents proved unwilling to have their children sit alongside blacks in the classroom," a feeling shared throughout many parts of the North.[39] The issue of integration divided the Republican Party in two with native white Republicans opposing freedmen population and northern carpetbaggers. The fracture was part a larger social divide, coincident with the aforementioned split over law enforcement responsibilities. Only Louisiana attempted integration, but state legislators merely required admittance to any black student who requested registration at a white or mixed-race school.[40] In short, integration was voluntary, not forced. Literacy among the black population improved from a tragic 10% in 1860, but 70% remained illiterate in 1880.[41] The Louisiana state legislature reversed course, however, legalizing segregation by 1878 and mandating it by 1898. The relationship between lofty goals and modest gains in the South resembled those in Afghanistan.

The interim Afghan government returned from Bonn amidst a "powerful feeling of optimism on Kabul's streets."[42] At the 2002 *loya jirga*, Karzai described two priorities of the Afghan people: peace and education.[43] Peace would require a political process that provided adequate representation to counter warlord influence throughout the nation, returning the appropriate blend of central and tribal authority. Optimism concerning both rested upon gradually righting the drastic gender imbalance imposed by the Taliban

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[38] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 144.

[39] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 367.

[40] Louis R. Harlan, "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 327.

[41] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 96, 366.

[42] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 130.

[43] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, 141.

without falling victim to the previous failings of rushed modernization attempts. The 2002 *loya jirga* marked a significant first step, similar to the republican state conventions in 1867 and 1868.

The 2002 *loya jirga* that selected Hamid Karzai as interim President was more representative of Afghanistan's diverse ethnic and religious groups than any previous *jirga*.[44] Women across the nation asserted themselves politically in much the same manner the freedmen population had done during the 1868 election cycle. Despite a minimum 10% female inclusion requirement, women filled 200 of the 1501 seats, slightly more than 13%. Of greater consequence, the *jirga* process elevated two women to positions of political prominence. Representatives chose Simar Samar as one of three Deputy Speakers while Masuda Jalal, a former medical professor at Kabul University, emerged as Karzai's chief challenger for the position of interim President, though she finished a distant second.[45] The political participation of Afghan women, however, did not end with the 2002 *jirga*.

Mirroring the freedmen trend during Radical Reconstruction, female participation in Afghan politics increased with the presence of coalition forces, but the long-term viability of that trend remains questionable. Women accounted for one-quarter of the 500 constitutional *jirga* participants in 2003, nearly double the 2002 percentage.[46] Female representation remained steady through the latest *Wolesi Jirga* elections in 2010; women currently hold 27%, or 68 of 249 seats.[47] Despite persistent female political representation, the Afghan Constitution adopted in 2003, "steered clear of the historic minefield of women's rights" while also requiring that all state laws be compatible with Islamic law. Although Afghanistan's Constitution was perhaps the most progressive in the Muslim world, it failed to assure a persistent place for women in governance. Similarly, the IEC cited "a general lack of solidarity and cohesion among women" as a

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[44] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 297.

[45] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, 141. Masuda Jalal received 171 votes and Hamid Karzai won with 1,295 votes. The two accounted for all but 35 of the 1,501 total votes.

[46] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 299.

[47] Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan, Seat Allocations for Wolesi Jirga, http://www.iec.org.af/eng/content.php?id=4&cnid=47&phpMyAdmin=5918814359a9c7d86aecbc64a0e469bc0. (accessed 21 January 2013)

significant challenge to permanently addressing the gender imbalance.[48]

Cautious progress has occurred in education as well, but short-term infrastructure and gender equality gains in education may be equally difficult to sustain. More than two decades of war destroyed over 80% of Afghanistan's schools.[49] Despite the lack of educational infrastructure, Afghans showed a thirst for education on par with the previously enslaved freedman population of the South. On the nation's first day of school in 2002, the government expected 1.8 million students to attend, but 3 million enrolled.[50] Remarkably, overall enrollment has increased six-fold since the end of Taliban rule. According to the Afghan government, education of girls, now 37% of the seven million students enrolled in 2012, experienced similar success. The government also touted training 170,000 teachers—30% female—and the construction of 4,500 schools after 2002.[51] Beneath the numbers, however, lies the potential undoing of the Afghan education system: as with Republican-led education programs in the South, foreign aid and benefactor donations have exclusively financed education investments since 2002.[52] Although, literacy rates have improved along with infrastructure, 70% of the Afghan population remains illiterate as of 2012, in-line with the freedmen population in 1880.[53]

In the South and Afghanistan, diverse societal interests moderated apparent gains for previously marginalized populations. Rapid growth in political participation by Southern blacks and Afghan women plateaued, and in the case of the South, progress evaporated under Democratic rule after the election of 1876. Education in the South and Afghanistan also exhibited similar infrastructure improvements, and literacy rate gains for disenfranchised minorities and the population writ large. As with political

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[48] Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan, "Gender at the IEC," http://www.iec.org.af/pdf/wsfactsheets/fs_gender_&_IEC.pdf?phpMyAdmin=5918814359a9c7d86aecbc64a35a592d&phpMyAdmin=84dcac90c9ded2016426264a0e469bc0. (accessed 21 January 2013)

[49] Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011), 63

[50] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, 183.

[51] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 70-1.

[52] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition: Looking Beyond 2014*, (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2012), 16. US AID, from 2007-2009, trained 65,000 teachers and constructed 690 schools (Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 70-1).

[53] Ministry of Education, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *Literacy and Adult Education in Afghanistan: Achievements and Challenges*, (Kabul, Afghanistan: Deputy Minister for Literacy and Non-Formal Education, 2011), 1.

participation, however, Southern Democrat policies reversed education gains after 1876. The social changes that appeared so promising at the height of Radical Reconstruction for the freedman population proved elusive when confronted by societal forces unprepared to relinquish control and the overriding threat of economic insolvency after 1873.

Autonomous Society: Carpetbaggers Then and Now?

In both cases, the end of civil war produced intellectual and economic voids, viewed as an opportunity by outsiders. In the South, an influx of northern entrepreneurs, and in the case of Afghanistan, a return of the intellectual and business diaspora, though initially welcomed, quickly incited social conflict. Southern Democrats callously labeled arrivals from the north as "carpetbaggers," the worst class of northerner, there to fatten their wallets on the misfortunes of the South and intent on upsetting the Democrats' self-described racial harmony during Presidential Reconstruction.[54]

Welcomed in 1865 by pillars of the Old South for their financial means, by 1867 carpetbaggers were the focus of conservative indictment. Despite biased accounts in the immediate aftermath of Reconstruction that characterized northerners as political miscreants, economic and not political motives enticed most northerners to head south in 1865 and 1866 according to Lawrence Powell.[55] Thousands of former soldiers flooded the South in search of economic opportunity and a fresh beginning once freed from wartime enlistments in the Union Army. They were joined by northern and western fortune seekers who viewed the South as the next financial boom region. In return, the "capital-starved" South sought their participation in "commission houses, banks, and planting partnerships."[56] Many arrived during the period of Presidential Reconstruction and renewed Democrat dominance, and some lost personal fortunes to the destitute economy.[57] Consequently, many transplanted northerners returned home bankrupt, but those who stayed salvaged political fortune from social turmoil with the Reconstruction Act of 1867.

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[54] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 294.

[55] Lawrence N. Powell, "Carpetbaggers and the Problems of Republican Rule in the South," in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 389.

[56] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 137.

[57] Richard N. Current, "Carpetbaggers Reconsidered," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 406.

Political involvement by northerners during Radical Reconstruction assisted societal change and sowed the seeds of its evaporation. Internal organization by the freedmen population from 1865 to 1866 created the opportunity for political success in 1867, but as a population, former slaves were uneducated and remained uneasy with their newfound freedom. Northerners by comparison, deemed carpetbaggers by Southern Democrats with the rise of Republican governments, were highly educated, experienced with republican democracy and generally "supported measures aimed at democratizing and modernizing the South—civil rights legislation, aid to economic development, the establishment of public school systems."[58] Carpetbagger Republicans never held a majority within any southern state; they relied on support from the black and native white Republican, or *scalawag*, populations. Moderate forces within the party held the peculiar coalition intact until the 1872 election, when radical elements altered the Party's course and the fate of the South. Massive expansions in state spending for public programs, seen as disproportionately favoring former slaves, led to higher taxes on the white Republican base.[59] Scalawags, principally white yeoman farmers, felt neglected and marginalized by their own political leaders. Many scalawag Republicans joined the swelling Southern Democrat ranks in support of lower taxes, smaller budgets and a return to the social order that promised a renewal of antebellum prosperity. Redemption took hold first locally, then regionally from 1874 to 1876 and became irreversible after the election of 1876.

The carpetbaggers' role in Southern Reconstruction foreshadowed the return of Afghanistan's professional diaspora in 2002. Afghan society, much like the South, was largely void of capital, educated citizens, and democratic political experience after the sustained period of war. Consequently, a principle goal of the international community was to encourage the return of Afghan refugees scattered across the Middle East, Europe and the US. The three million who did return were soon labeled by "resident Afghans and returning refugees from Pakistan and Iran [as] opportunistic carpetbaggers, using

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[58] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 296.

[59] Michael Perman, "The Politics of Reconstruction," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 332-3.

their familiarity with the West and foreign-language skills to benefit themselves."[60] The most prominent Afghan to return, Zalmay Khalilzad, did so with the resources of the US government at his disposal.

As with the early histories of northern carpetbaggers, some accounts of Khalilzad's role as US Envoy to Afghanistan generally assume an overly negative tone. A native Pashtun Afghan born in Mazar-e-Sharif, Khalilzad was the son a civil servant during the reign of Zahir Shah. Khalizad was a foreign-exchange high school student in the US, studied at American University in Beirut, and earned his doctorate from the University of Chicago. He was a senior state department advisor to President Ronald Reagan during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and finally served as President George W. Bush's chief representative at the 2001 Bonn negotiations.[61] At the 2001 gathering and again at the 2002 *loya jirga*, Khalilzad reportedly "strong-armed" Zahir Shah to support Karzai's bid for interim President. Although Khalilzad's influence was beneficial for the US government, Karzai's faction and non-Pashtun interests, Pashtuns who enjoyed prominence under Zahir Shah's rule, many of whom were open supporters of his reinstatement as king rather than Karzai's ascent as President, were not appreciative.[62]

Khalilzad attained a powerful political stature in Afghanistan that proved internationally beneficial but domestically problematic. He served as US Presidential Envoy and later as US Ambassador to Afghanistan until 2005. Importantly, and to his credit, Khalizad was the principle force behind increased US financial and military assistance after 2003. Ahmed Rashid described Khalilzad as "the most powerful man in Afghanistan [who] made no attempt to hide it." Rashid insisted Khalilzad "was not in the least embarrassed when reporters described how Karzai did not make a move without first consulting him."[63] Though vital to securing dire international aid for Karzai's government, Khalilzad's prominent role undermined the traditional foundation of legitimate authority in Afghanistan—the leader's appearance of freedom from external

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[60] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 281-2. Central Intelligence Agency World Fact Book estimates the Afghanistan's 2001 population as 26.8 million.
[61] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, 188.
[62] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 297.
[63] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, 188.

control.[64]

Khalilzad, and other Afghans who returned after 2001, brought with them modern perspectives that often clashed with the social views of rural tribes. As with the northern carpetbaggers, Afghans who returned "seized both the opportunity and the responsibility out of a sense of duty," but their image of the future was more modern than that of many native Afghans.[65] In-line with the more liberal urban elements of Afghan society, their worldly experience earned them Thomas Barfield's characterization as "carpetbagger" and "resurrected the old division between Kabul-based modernists and the more conservative rural majority."[66]

Although Southern and Afghan societies initially welcomed the arrival of outsiders, contempt eventually clouded indigenous perceptions. In the South, Northern entrepreneurs and aspiring farmers who remained beyond 1867 were branded profiteers. In Afghanistan, the three million returning diaspora, of which Zalmay Khalilzad was the most prominent, allegedly profited from superior financial means, education not previously available to resident Afghans, and political connections—while the average Afghan received very little in direct financial assistance. In both cases, however, carpetbaggers represented a much-needed influx of educated labor and financial means.

Conclusion

The contest between old and new societal images provides tremendous socio-political symmetry between reconstruction of the South and Afghanistan. In both cases, confrontation between rival factions and corrupt practices injured popular support for central governance. In the South, the political rivalry between Republicans and Democrats allowed for only measured societal progress during Reconstruction. In Afghanistan, the equally contentious relationship between the President and *Wolesi Jirga* proved problematic for coordinated and rapid political progress. Similarly, long-held societal paradigms and a dependence on unsustainable and external sources of revenue undermined long-term improvements in political participation and education for previously marginalized groups. Finally, the intervention of northern carpetbaggers and

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[64] William Byrd, *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and Beyond*, United States Institute of Peace Special Report 314 (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, Spring 2012), 3.
[65] Powell, "Carpetbaggers and the Problems of Republican Rule in the South," 389.
[66] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 282.

Afghan diaspora, despite good intentions, reinvigorated dormant tensions associated with long-held societal beliefs and renewed traditional resentment of external involvement in internal affairs. Civil war created an opportunity for societal change in the South and Afghanistan, but at least in the South, opportunity did not produce long-term results.

CHAPTER 3
Analysis of Security Factors

General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April 1865 and the expulsion of Taliban forces in early 2002 ushered in similar periods of comparative peace until vanquished foes renewed hostilities through unconventional means in 1867 and 2005, respectively. According to Eric Foner, "violence [in the South] raised in its starkest form the question of legitimacy that haunted the Reconstruction state."[1] Foner's diagnosis of the South applies equally to Afghanistan.

A comparison of the security situations in both cases based on three common societal traits reveals important symmetries during respective reconstruction periods. Rural lawlessness progressed to insurgency across the South and Afghanistan, and both cycles of violence manifest the political struggles between old and new societal structures. Those forces in-turn supplemented an externally supplied security presence that proved insufficient in the South and equally ineffective in Afghanistan. As a result, the autonomous tendencies of both societies persevered.

Class Structure: Common Progression of Violence

In the South, the three stages of violence—lawlessness, insurgency, and reconciliation—coincided chronologically with Presidential Reconstruction, Radical Reconstruction, and Democratic Redemption. Lawlessness and racially driven violence reflected a breakdown of governance that accompanied defeat and a desire by some for a rapid renewal of antebellum society. Radical Reconstruction in 1867 unleashed a brutal insurgency as disenfranchised Democrats clambered for a return to home rule. By 1877, Democratic Redemption eliminated the political impetus for violence by restoring the pre-war order, but not before the South endured a second war.

The Confederate Army disbanded in April 1865 leaving soldiers with little prospect of meaningful employment and no governing structure to oversee their actions. Property of Confederate stockpiles, private stores, and personal homes were all subject to confiscation by hungry soldiers and prowling gangs. A general state of lawlessness ensued as armed looters exploited "opportunities afforded by a society in which there

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[1] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Collins Inc., 1988), 443.

were no sheriffs, no laws, and no courts."[2] In the Carolinas, vast stretches of road were unsafe to travel for many months following the South's surrender. In one instance, two bands of Confederate deserters stopped a federal military officer, robbed him of everything including his horse and boots, and forced him to return in shame to his garrison.[3] In Mississippi, desperation encouraged the few remaining, though recently defeated Confederate units and occupying Union forces to cooperate tacitly "in suppressing [the] irregular outlaw bands."[4] Socially, the state of lawlessness meant a brief return to the Old South order along the Deep South's Plantation Belt.

Many former slaveholders forcefully reasserted their will over former slaves in an attempt to reinstitute the social order that perpetuated their pre-war power and prosperity. Former slaves "were assaulted and murdered for attempting to leave plantations, disputing contract settlements, [and] not laboring in the manner desired by their employers."[5] The subjugation of freedmen received political endorsement with the return of Democratic rule in late 1865. According to Mark Bradley, state legislatures passed Black Codes to keep former slaves "in a condition as close to slavery as lawmakers dared."[6] In an extreme case of racial violence, 2,000 former slaves perished at the hands of their former slaveholders in the areas surrounding Shreveport, Louisiana during 1865.[7]

The general state of lawlessness following the end of war preceded widespread insurgency during Radical Reconstruction, when marginalized South Democrats resorted to violent means of resistance. Insurgent groups, like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), appeared across the South in response to the Reconstruction Act of 1867. The KKK, originally a fraternal gathering of six ex-Confederates from Pulaski, Tennessee, spread from Virginia to Texas by 1868.[8] Each group, though informally connected, reflected a unique local identity. In some areas, the KKK remained a fraternal society and in others, it became a

[2] Dan T. Carter, *When the War was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 20.

[3] Carter, *When the War was Over*, 21.

[4] Carter, *When the War was Over*, 15.

[5] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 121.

[6] Mark L. Bradley, *Bluecoats & Tar Heels*: *Soldiers and Civilians in Reconstruction North Carolina* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 3.

[7] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 119.

[8] J. Michael Martinez, *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan: Exposing the Invisible Empire During Reconstruction* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 7.

menacing "paramilitary organization" working on behalf of the Democratic Party.[9]
Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Klan's first Grand Wizard, claimed during an 1868
newspaper interview that the Klan's membership across the South exceeded 550,000
men.[10] In the state elections of 1870, KKK violence was the deciding factor that returned
Democrats to power in Georgia, Alabama and Florida.[11] In many states, this "reign of
terror was so extensive that [Republican] state governments were powerless to control
it."[12]

To regain control, Congress passed the Ku Klux Klan Act in April 1871, throwing
the weight of federal jurisdiction against insurgent groups. In South Carolina, President
Ulysses S. Grant suspended the writ of habeas corpus and deployed federal troops; law
enforcement officials arrested hundreds and forced 2,000 Klansmen to flee the state.[13]
Elsewhere, lesser known, but equally dangerous groups including the Knights of the
Rising Sun and the Knights of the White Camellia committed violent acts on par with the
Klan.[14] Grant's federal intervention brought peace for a period, but without substantive
political reconciliation, the gains did not endure.

A second wave of violence "tore through the South" ahead of the 1874 elections,
but overall insurgent violence gradually waned as Democrats returned to political office
and the population grew weary of insurgent atrocities.[15] Historians generally agree
Reconstruction writ large ended with the election of President Hayes in 1876, but locally,
Redemption began earlier in many Southern states. Although Democrats restored home
rule to North Carolina in 1872, the same did not occur until 1874 in Louisiana and 1876
in Mississippi. By instigating race riots and open fighting with Republican militias to
prevent federal troops from patrolling polling stations, insurgent organizations freely
intimidated Republican voters and politicians on Election Day to guarantee a Democratic

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[9] Martinez, *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 3.

[10] Martinez, *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 21.

[11] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 442.

[12] Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 260.

[13] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 454-8.

[14] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 260.

[15] Heather C. Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 142.

majority at the polls and a return of antebellum-era governance.[16] Consequently, newly elected Democratic legislatures and governors no longer sanctioned insurgent attacks after returning to office and violence quickly faded as a result.

The same politically motivated progression from lawlessness to insurgency—but not yet necessarily Redemption—emerged in Afghanistan after the expulsion of Taliban forces in early 2002. The Bonn Agreement limited International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) to security duties in and around Kabul, while feuding and criminal activity of newly victorious warlords fed a condition of lawlessness throughout the periphery. Anarchy reigned as 90,000 pre-existing Afghan police and one million armed militiamen served warlord interests rather than the nation.[17] In Mazar-e-Sharif, a power struggle between former Northern Alliance Generals Mohammed Atta and Rashid Dostum cost 2,000 Afghan lives in the 18 months immediately following the Taliban's expulsion.[18]

Initially, the US supported various warlords as a means of tracking al Qaeda and Taliban forces without committing to a large-scale land operation. By 2003, however, the lack of peripheral security crippled popular support for the Karzai government, forcing international participants to adjust strategy and support Karzai's plan to disarm the warlord militias and increase funding for a more robust Afghan National Army (ANA). Consequently, in 2005 the US invested $1.736 billion in the ANA, a four-fold increase over 2003.[19] The delay, however, afforded Taliban leaders an opportunity to regroup and regain a foothold in the Pashtun-dominated south and along the border with Pakistan.

By early 2002, the Northern Alliance and coalition onslaught reduced the Taliban to "a roving band of mullahs trying to regroup and launch an insurgency," but the lack of peripheral control afforded Mullah Omar ample time to recover and formulate a new

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[16] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 261.

[17] Terrence K. Kelly, Nora Bensahel, and Olga Oliker, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan: Identifying Lessons for Future Efforts* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2011), 18, 27.

[18] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 199.

[19] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 34-5. References a US Government Accounting Office report, GAO-08-661, "Afghanistan Security: Further Congressional Action May be Needed to Ensure Completion of a Detailed Plan to Develop and Sustain Capable Afghan National Security Forces." The US spent $362.7 million in 2003, $732.7 million in 2004 and $1.736 billion in 2005 to train the ANA.

strategy.[20] Refitted by the Pakistani madrassa network and independent Arab financiers, and facing no government opposition, the Taliban returned to Afghan villages in 2004 and by 2005 entire provinces were under their direct influence.[21] Convinced his forces were incapable of defeating US military in open combat, Omar resurrected his 1994 call for stability and challenged Karzai's legitimacy through a combination of shadow governance and unconventional violence. By 2010, the Taliban shadow government extended to 33 provinces and 180 districts in every region of Afghanistan.[22] Taliban Governors mediated disputes and Taliban judges issued *shura*-based legal decisions to establish political legitimacy for the aggressive guerilla tactics that punctuated their return across Afghanistan.

The violent Taliban resurgence in 2004 and 2005 reached its apex in 2009. Insurgent attacks increased 900% from 2004 to 2009; suicide bombings increased 40-fold and the use of improvised explosive devices jumped from 300 to 4,000 in the same five-year period.[23] In a gruesome 2008 episode, Taliban militants stopped a civilian bus and beheaded 30 of its 50 passengers.[24] During 2009 alone, hostilities claimed the lives of 5,978 Afghan civilians, triple the total in 2008.[25] Violent attacks also spiked during the 2009 Afghan Presidential and 2010 Parliamentary election cycles. In 2010, insurgents assassinated 11 candidates and the Independent Election Committee closed 23% of national polling stations due to a lack of security.[26]

After the parliamentary elections in early 2010, insurgent violence dropped across Afghanistan for the first time since 2005, prompting questions about a possible opportunity for reconciliation.[27] Though total deaths and overall violence decreased in

[20] Antonio Giustozzi, "Hearts, Minds, and the Barrel of a Gun," *Prism* 3, no. 2 (March, 2012), 74.

[21] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 39. Joseph Collins supports this assertion in *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, page 72. Gulbuddin Hekmetyar's *Hezb-e Islami* and Jalauddin Haqqani's Haqqani Network comprise the rest of the insurgency. Oftentimes, 'Taliban' incorrectly refers to all three groups.

[22] Giustozzi, "Hearts, Minds, and the Barrel of a Gun," 72.

[23] Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011), 72.

[24] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 74.

[25] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 55.

[26] International Crisis Group, *Afghanistan: The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition* (Brussels, Belgium: International Crisis Group, October 2012), 16, 19.

[27] Department of Defense, *Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress (Washington D.C.: Department of Defense, December 2012), 1.

2011 and 2012, the beheading of two children, ages 6 and 12, in August 2012 raised questions over prospects for a true reconciliation, though trace optimism remained.[28] A 2012 interview of four Taliban interlocutors by the Britain's Royal United Services Institute suggested reconciliation was possible, but their findings indicated an agreement would have to rely on a power sharing arrangement that excluded President Hamid Karzai, who the Taliban viewed as corrupt and weak.[29]

In the South and Afghanistan, each phase of violence reflected the underlying political competition between old and new societal structures. Lawlessness reflected the absence of rural governance in the immediate aftermath of war. Similarly, insurgency, characterized by socially targeted violence and intimidation of politicians and voters in both cases served the interests of the disenfranchised political faction. Finally, reconciliation for the South, induced by insurgent violence and encouraged by waning northern interest in southern affairs, came via the ballot box and not military victory. Southern insurgents faded from relevance with the achievement of their leaders' political objective, the expulsion of Southern Republicans from power.

Societal Mosaic: Role of Indigenous Security Forces

The role of indigenous security forces grew as the pressures of open insurgency mounted in both societies. In the South, community-organized security measures emerged first in 1865 and government sanctioned state militias followed in 1868 to assist local and federal forces against the growing threat posed by insurgent groups. In Afghanistan, the period of warlord dominance gave way to centrally administered security. The permanent state-sponsored security apparatus, however, required the temporary assistance of locally based groups to offset the unanticipated pace of Taliban resurgence after 2005.

Freedmen political gatherings in 1865 and 1866 provided the vehicle for a community-organized defense of former slave populations. The death rate among

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[28] Mirwais Harooni, "Two Afghan Children Beheaded in Separate Incidents," *Reuters*, 31 August 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/31/us-afghanistan-beheading-child-idUSBRE87U0J420120831. (accessed 25 January 2013)

[29] Michael Semple et al, *Taliban Perspectives on Reconciliation*, Briefing Paper (London: Royal United Services Institute, September 2012), 5.

organizers of the freedmen political movement was alarmingly high.[30] Faced with rampant violence in the immediate aftermath of war, "blacks were not satisfied to stand by idly and wait for government to come to their aid."[31] Community "defense organizations sprang up around [political gatherings]," like the Union League, where members "drill[ed] with weapons, sometimes under men with self-appointed [military rank]."[32] The rapidly dwindling federal military presence across the South forced local communities to take up arms when threatened and fight back where possible, but their efforts could not stem the rising tide of insurgency.

In Alamance County, North Carolina, the six county magistrates were unable to maintain order by March 1969. Across the county, the ranks of the White Brotherhood, part of the KKK insurgent network, swelled to more than 700 members accounting for "slightly more than one-half of the county's white voters. The membership included the county sheriff and 11 deputies."[33] The local Republican mayor attempted to counter the growing threat with a bi-racial night watch program. In response, however, "80 members of the White Brotherhood paraded en regalia through the streets of Graham, the county seat, and fired into homes of several blacks. The [insurgents] then formed a line in front of a prominent Republican's house and warned him they would be out for blood on their next visit."[34] The episode impelled the county magistrates to request assistance from the state militia, but by December 1869, the county "tottered on the brink of anarchy."[35]

To defend against the KKK and other insurgent groups, Southern States requested and received federal permission to raise militias, a right lost under the provisions of the Reconstruction Act of 1867.[36] Across the South, "the sight of armed black men intensified white southerners' reaction to Republican rule."[37] After receiving Congressional approval, the South Carolina legislature approved the formation of a state militia in 1869, less than one year after reinstatement, but "when white men refused to

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[30] Vernon L. Wharton, "The Negro and Politics, 1870-1875," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 349.
[31] Martinez, *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 113.
[32] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 283-4.
[33] Bradley, *Bluecoats & Tar Heels*, 208.
[34] Bradley, *Bluecoats & Tar Heels*, 208.
[35] Bradley, *Bluecoats & Tar Heels*, 212.
[36] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 260-1.
[37] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 260.

serve with freedmen, the militia effectively became black." By Election Day in 1870, the South Carolina militia swelled to 90,000 members.[38] The militia's rapid expansion created an "escalating arms race" as insurgent organizations expanded to keep pace, threatening "a race war on the back roads of South Carolina" between 1869 and 1871.[39] The upcountry war concluded, for a time, with passage of the Ku Klux Klan Act in April 1871 and President Grant's decision to intervene with federal troops.

The reprieve from violence was short lived. Renewed clashes between Republican state militias and Democrat-supported insurgent groups dominated Southern politics from 1872 to 1876 where the Republican Party retained political authority. In Louisiana, where "every election between 1868 and 1876 was marked by rampant violence and pervasive fraud," defeated gubernatorial candidate and Southern Democrat, John McEnery raised his own militia in March 1873 and unsuccessfully attempted to seize control of New Orleans' police stations in response to the "much-disputed 1872 election."[40] By 1874, "many [locally Redeemed] white parishes [in Louisiana] refused to pay taxes or otherwise recognize the authority of the [Republican] state government."[41] During the 1874 and 1876 elections, insurgents instigated "calculated insurrection" and race riots "in time to keep Republicans from the polls but too late for Washington to send regulars to police the voting."[42] Throughout the 1870s, Republican state militias proved incapable of providing adequate security without a robust federal military presence.

In Afghanistan, indigenous security took a different path but arrived at a similar end. The US decision to support local warlords as a less expensive means to maintain peripheral security perpetuated violence. Rural tribal leaders, local farmers, and law enforcement remained subordinate to warlord will, bound by financial debt, honor or ethnic loyalty. The United Nations militia disarmament program in 2003 and concurrent efforts to include local strongmen in the nation's *jirga* process achieved some degree of marginal political success but warlords retained their localized authority. With US financial backing squarely behind ready-made rural militias, initial attempts to build a national army and retrain the existing national police force proved inadequate to face the

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[38] Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction*, 90.
[39] Martinez, *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 114.
[40] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 550.
[41] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 550.
[42] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 261.

Taliban insurgency that emerged in 2005.

The Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP) were the focal point of coalition-sponsored indigenous security efforts. As with southern militias after 1868, ISAF coalition nations set out to train a national military and police force to provide order and stability, with the US and Germany directing ANA and ANP development, respectively. Under the Bonn II Agreement in December 2002, the Afghan government and ISAF coalition agreed to an ethnically balanced, all volunteer ANA of no more than 70,000 soldiers.[43] A series of problems, however, crippled ANA development: ethnic imbalance favored an overwhelming Tajik presence at the expense of Pashtun participation, early recruiting difficulties meant only 10,000 Afghans joined in 2003, corruption and drug abuse were rampant, and trainee desertion reached 22% in 2003.[44] Furthermore, the ANA ethnic imbalance negated its legitimacy in southern and eastern Pashtun-dominant regions, similar to the effect of all-black state militias among the southern Democrat population. Due to cascading setbacks, the initial 70,000 estimate proved drastically insufficient without the assistance of a competent ANP force.[45]

In addition to many of the same woes that beset the ANA, warlord influence and a lack of commitment by international donors plagued the fledgling ANP. Warlord interference principally concerned their financial stake in the Afghan drug trade. Coveted ANP "positions such as police chiefs in poppy-producing districts were auctioned off to the highest bidder [with a] going rate of $100,000 for a six-month appointment."[46] With a paltry investment of $12 million per year, European ISAF members attempted to retrain the pre-existing 70,000 ANP personnel who maintained firm loyalties to local warlords rather than the Afghan state.[47] By 2005, initial efforts proved to be an abject failure; only 41 officers and 2,583 noncommissioned officers

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[43] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 24.

[44] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 24-5. Tajik warlord and Northern Alliance General Mohammed Fahim became the first Afghan Defense Minister to guarantee his loyalty to the Karzai government. Fahim appointed Tajiks to 33 of 36 division chief positions, alienating the Pashtun population.

[45] According to NATO, the ANA contains 178,501 members as of December 2012—250% increase over the 2002 coalition estimate. 2012 totals obtained from http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/ pdf_2012_12/20121205-ansf-backgrounder-en.pdf.

[46] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 328.

[47] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 31.

graduated Kabul's Police Academy.[48] Consequently, the US assumed sole oversight for ANP and ANA development after 2005 with renewed vigor as Taliban insurgents gained clear footholds across the periphery. By 2006, Afghan and coalition governments hatched a community-based security scheme to offset slow ANA and ANP progress.

Two initiatives attempted to recapture the success of Zahir Shah's "arbakai" program, the first in 2006 and the second in 2010.[49] In 2006, the Afghan National Auxiliary Police (ANAP) program sought the same security benefits achieved by Union League militias during Presidential Reconstruction. Governors from 21 provinces in eastern and southern Afghanistan recruited over 11,000 men with one-year contracts, but the program failed and in some cases exacerbated the problems it tried to quell. The Afghan government terminated the ANAP program in 2008, but by mid-August 2010, the ANAP was reborn as the Afghan Local Police (ALP) initiative. The revived program armed 13,000 Afghan militiamen in areas not patrolled by the ANP, with a goal of expansion to 30,000 by 2014.[50] As with its ANAP predecessor, and Southern initiatives like the Graham, North Carolina night watch program, the ALP has to date offered little real security value.

In both the South and Afghanistan, community-based security measures were widely employed and likely induced more societal instability than they resolved. Despite having no alternative to defending themselves, locally initiated security measures, like the Union League militias, frightened unaffiliated whites and induced added chaos into a fractured South. The infamous Nathan Bedford Forrest cited the growth of Union League militias as his impetus for joining the KKK.[51] Similarly, the ANAP and ALP initiatives rearmed suppressed warlord militias, marginalized central government authority in rural areas, and revived old tribal and ethnic conflicts rather than improving security. In each case, indigenous security forces for not sufficient to prevent insurgent violence. Both Southern militias and the ANA were arguably less capable than their battle-hardened

[48] Kelly, *Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan*, 29-30.
[49] Robert Hulsander and Jake Spivey, "Village Stability Operations and Afghan Local Police," *Prism*, June 2012, 127.
[50] House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Afghan National Security Forces: Afghan Corruption and the Development of an Effective Fighting Force*, 112th, 2 August 2012, 7, http://www.brookings.edu/research/testimony/2012/08/02-afghanistan-security-felbabbrown. (accessed 21 January 2012)
[51] Martinez, *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 20.

adversary and consequently were poorly suited to fill the void created by withdrawing foreign security forces. Additionally, both entities were largely ethnically homogenous to the exclusion of the ethnic majority, southern whites and Pashtuns. Finally, in both instances the growth of inadequate indigenous security forces provided justification for the drawdown of external security personnel.

Autonomous Society: Support of Outside Security Assistance

In 1865 and 2002, the US government sought a minimalist role for its military, but in each case, military responsibilities encompassed far more than the population's physical security. Although the specific chronology regarding force size differs between cases, symmetry across the two cases exists concerning initial indigenous support, role diversity, and the transition of security responsibilities to indigenous security personnel.

An exhausted South hoped for peace in the immediate aftermath of war, but the period of goodwill was short-lived. Opting for peace over anarchy, Southern whites ignored Jefferson Davis' plea for a continued guerilla war after April 1865.[52] Exhaustion quickly yielded shock, however, as emancipation, economic ruin, and the death of 20% of the southern white male population recast southern social structure overnight. Former slaveholders lashed out against freedmen and Freedman's Bureau personnel alike. With no federal legal protection, "southerners frequently insulted and sometimes assaulted soldiers, and filed scores of damage suits in state courts against federal military personnel."[53] Similarly, the once imposing federal military force of one million troops evaporated to 38,000 by the fall of 1866 and a mere 8,038 by 1871, as wartime volunteer enlistments expired and northern military interests shifted west.[54] As federal troop levels declined, remaining forces garrisoned in urban centers, entrusting peripheral security to indigenous means. Consequently, Southern Democrat and ex-Confederate resistance gradually overwhelmed support from southern unionists, carpetbaggers and freedmen after 1867. The federal troops remaining in the South by 1868 were simply no match for Nathan Bedford Forest's Klansmen, even if they numbered considerably less than the 550,000 he claimed.[55]

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[52] Carter, *When the War was Over*, 23.

[53] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 258.

[54] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 148.

[55] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 260.

Despite the precipitous decline, Congress asked Army personnel to perform increasingly varied and conflicting tasks during Radical Reconstruction. To fulfill their initial charge to oversee all "economic, legal and political affairs of former slaves," the Freedman's Bureau worked with state and local law enforcement to maintain order.[56] Subsequent Congressional passage of the 1867 Reconstruction Act instituted martial law and subjugated state and local governance to military authority. Consequently, the Army assumed responsibility for far more than its conventional security role.[57] Military governors and Freedman's Bureau officials balanced two conflicting priorities: protecting the rights of freedmen and resuscitation of the destitute southern economy. Convinced that restoration of the agrarian economy was the only way to avert mass starvation, Freedman's Bureau officials sided with southern planters' demands and forced freedmen to return to antebellum plantations under one-year labor contracts.[58] Additionally, Congress expected military leaders to implement federal policy and maintain the peace while reconciling with ex-Confederates.[59] In modern lexicon, the occupation Army engaged in a nation-building program it was ill equipped to perform.

States officially assumed responsibility for governance and security after rejoining the Union, but federal troops continued to project federal influence until the return of Redeemer Democrats and resulting decline of insurgent activity. In states such as North Carolina, the transition occurred in the early 1870s, and by the middle of the decade, federal officers were welcomed back into "polite society" and "federal troops were marching beside Confederate veterans in memorial rituals."[60] Conversely, federal troops continued to suppress race riots and voter intimidation efforts across Mississippi through 1876. In Louisiana and South Carolina, where Redeemer movements lagged at the state level, federal troops surrounded both statehouses to protect Republican Governors until Reconstruction's bitter conclusion, only withdrawing under direct order from President Rutherford B. Hayes. The postwar occupation of federal troops, expected to end in 1865, continued for 12 indecisive years. In hindsight, Democrats complained

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[56] Millet, *For the Common Defense*, 257.
[57] William A. Dunning, "*Military Government in the South During Reconstruction,*" *Political Science Quarterly*, 12, no. 3 (September 1897), 386.
[58] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 153-4.
[59] Bradley, *Bluecoats & Tar Heels*, 5.
[60] Bradley, *Bluecoats & Tar Heels*, 5.

that federal troops were too involved and Republicans thought they could have done more. Similar political contrasts cast a shadow over the role of coalition forces in Afghanistan.

The Union's desire to withdraw federal troops by the end of 1865 matched US reluctance to commit substantial ground forces in Afghanistan until 2006, despite broad Afghan support for a robust presence in the aftermath of war. ISAF personnel were immensely popular in Kabul during 2002. Their presence brought security; they "built goodwill with foot patrols, helping local communities and befriending citizens in a way unheard of by Kabul police."[61] The coalition, however, did not capitalize on this fortune, holding firm to its initial commitment of 8,000 ground troops for security in and around Kabul and Kandahar.[62] Operation Anaconda, the signature engagement of early 2002, employed slightly more than 1,000 US soldiers and an equal number of Afghan militiamen to oust Taliban and al Qaeda fighters from the Shahi Kot valley in the high mountains near Gardez.[63] By summer 2002, coalition nations addressed the rural security void by financing 45,000 warlord militiamen to maintain order and assist with locating al Qaeda operatives, rather than commit to a larger presence on the ground.[64]

The coalition's "light footprint" strategy supported a governance structure and diverse military role that bore a strong resemblance to the South during Radical Reconstruction. In 2004, coalition nations divided Afghanistan into geographic regions. The international coalition assumed responsibility for security in the northern region in the fall of 2004 and within two years oversaw security nationwide, but did so without sizable combat forces.[65] Within each region, the military commander maintained control over all security forces and provisional reconstruction teams (PRT). Originated by the US in 2004, PRTs combined civilian and military personnel within self-sufficient groups designed to promote security and reconstruction, improve local governance, and assist nongovernmental organizations (NGO) in rural areas.[66] PRTs were an attempt to extend stability without appearing as an occupation force akin to previous foreign powers. By

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[61] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 135.

[62] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 50.

[63] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 101.

[64] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 136.

[65] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 64.

[66] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 64-5.

comparison, PRTs were a more formalized means of achieving what was attempted by the disjointed efforts of Freedman's Bureau and garrison soldiers, and Northern philanthropists and social activist who flooded the South in 1865 and 1866 to teach freedman and support their political awakening.

Failure of the "light footprint" strategy to quell the Taliban insurgency was a catalyst for two troop increases, first in 2008 and again in 2009 and 2010. In 2008, a revised US and coalition commitment to Afghanistan included a troop level increase to roughly 38,000 US and 30,000 coalition forces. An additional increase in 2009 and the more famous 2010 surge elevated the US commitment to more than 100,000 troops, including 1,050 US government civilians, while coalition nations contributed in excess of 41,000.[67] Although the sheer numbers belie a direct comparison, the intent and success of the cumulative troop increase by Presidents George W. Bush and Barak Obama mirrored President Grant's 1871 decision to intervene directly against the KKK insurgency in South Carolina with federal troops and indirectly in North Carolina and elsewhere with federally supplied arms and material. Finally, the new strategy incorporated substantial monetary commitments from the international community and a political timeline for transition and withdrawal of US and coalition forces.

Political negotiations set a December 2014 deadline for transfer of ISAF security responsibilities to the ANSF and official withdrawal of all US and coalition combat forces. As of August 2012, however, Afghans remained "deeply skeptical" that the ANSF would be able to fill the post-2014 security void, as ANA and ANP progression continued to lag 2009 projections.[68] Despite concerns, the revitalized US-led training mission increased and improved ANSF security training after 2009 and grew the combined Afghan force to 352,000 members by October 2012. Consequently, the ANSF assumed security responsibilities for 87% of the Afghan population by the start of 2013, though the remaining 13% represented the most highly contested eastern and southern provinces. [69]

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[67] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 84.

[68] House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Afghan National Security Forces*, 1-2.

[69] Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), *Statement by Secretary Panetta on the Government of Afghanistan's Security Transition Announcement* (Washington D.C.: Department of

As with the South, the security transition in Afghanistan occurred piecemeal when and where the political situation permitted. Similarly, popular support for reconstruction decreased over time in both cases, as cultural desires for autonomy and dislike of foreign intervention outpaced fears of insecurity. In the South, an early decision to avoid anarchy and accept the presence of federal troops gave way to the cold realization and associated fear that their society risked irrevocable change. In Afghanistan, cumulative civilian deaths, totaling nearly 12,000 from 2007 to 2011, and recent incidents, including the incidental burning of Korans at Bagram Air Base in February 2012 and alleged Kandahar massacre one month later, substantially damaged the relationship between coalition forces and the civilian populace they protected.[70] Diplomatic relations between the US and Afghan governments were stressed further in March 2013 after President Karzai accused US officials of conspiring with Taliban leaders in advance of the planned withdrawal. Finally, military forces performed a variety of tasks during both reconstruction periods without sufficient resources, though the increased international commitment in 2009 did improve the security in the same way that President Grant's 1871 surge uprooted insurgency in South Carolina and elsewhere.

Conclusion

Tremendous symmetry existed between the security situations during reconstruction of the South and Afghanistan. Each case followed an analogous path of lawlessness and insurgency, with the South eventually achieving political reconciliation. The lack of reliable security across the rural South and the Afghan periphery permitted the rise of an insurgency that gripped each population in years of bloody guerilla warfare. In both cases, militias not beholden to state leadership were the primary source of peripheral security during the state of lawlessness while externally sourced military units were concentrated in urban centers. Additionally, locally based security apparatuses offset the inadequate presence of permanent security forces during the insurgency period. The renewed financial and force commitments of 2006 and 2009 were not matched in the South, but in both cases, military forces performed expansive nation building functions,

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Defense, 31 December 2012), http://www.defense.gov/utility/printitem.aspx?print=http://www.defense.gov/releases/release.aspx?releaseid=15762. (accessed 2 January 2013)

[70] Susan G. Chesser, *Afghanistan Casualties: Military Forces and Civilians* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 6 December 2012), 3.

providing security in addition to assisting with governance and the rule of law. Furthermore, the erosion of support among the Southern and Afghan populations for foreign involvement coincided with an equally faded interest among northerners and the international community. In the South, the significance of federal troops waned as security improved with political stability and the return of Democrats to political office. In Afghanistan, ISAF's security role decreased as better-trained Afghan forces gradually accepted responsibility for localities and regions where the situation was most permissible.

The most germane symmetry, however, was the level of security itself. Despite the ongoing insurgency and widespread popular discontent with governance during Radical Reconstruction and the post-2005 Karzai regime, the sizable presence of indigenous and foreign security forces lent an artificial legitimacy to relatively dysfunctional governance. In the case of the South, state legislatures failed to capitalize politically on the opportunity afforded to them by the security apparatus. Instead, political corruption and failed economic policies legitimized Democratic opposition and ushered in the end of Reconstruction. In Afghanistan, similar corruption and insufficient economic progress eroded popular support for a weak regime in Kabul, encouraging the spread of Taliban shadow governments throughout the periphery.

CHAPTER 4
Analysis of Economic Factors

Southern and Afghan societies emerged from civil war in bankruptcy. The Confederate States were $700 million in debt when the Southern government collapsed in April 1865.[1] By comparison, when President Hamid Karzai's interim administration assumed control in late-December 2001, the government treasury included a paltry nine million dollars in cash, provided by the United Nations (UN) start up fund.[2] The physical destruction and psychological exhaustion of war proved far more devastating for both societies than anticipated by external observers.

As with socio-political and security factors, utilizing the three societal traits common to the South and Afghanistan reveals tremendous economic symmetry during respective reconstruction periods. In both the South and Afghanistan, the apparent opportunity to recast society proved overly optimistic as traditional class structures and engrained power relationships prevailed. Planter and merchant landowners in the South, and warlords in Afghanistan, retained a clear degree of autonomy and influence throughout reconstruction. Additionally, due to political instability and physical insecurity, both societies struggled to attract external private investors to their capital-starved economies. Moreover, endemic government squandered popular support and fed insurgency in each case. Despite these disadvantages, perceived improvements in political stability and security were eventually accompanied by measured, though uneven, economic progress across the South and Afghanistan.

Class Structure: Powerbrokers Re-emerge

The South and Afghanistan entered reconstruction in tatters, but destruction wrought by war did little to alter traditional relationships among classes in either society. Local power brokers, consisting of Southern landowners and Afghan warlords, maintained authority over their poorer counterparts throughout the periphery. Additionally, in both circumstances, widespread corruption accompanied perceived

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[1] Dan T. Carter, *When the War was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 70.

[2] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 178.

financial progress. Corruption, however, spurred popular discontent with dishonest officials and provided cause for sustained political opposition and insurgency.

The South emerged from war bankrupt and physically devastated. Defeat and debt rendered Confederate bonds valueless and wiped out personal savings across the South. Consequently, bartering became the principle form of commerce.[3] In Alabama, total property value that reached $432 million in 1860 plummeted to $128 million by 1865.[4] Emancipation accounted for $200 million of Alabama's decline, based on the 435,000 slaves that comprised 45% of its pre-Civil War population.[5] Alabama's economic fate repeated itself across the South, though emancipation affected the Deep South substantially more than other regions. Despite plummeting property values, those with land and the ability to produce staple crops and foodstuffs held what power remained during the transition from war to reconstruction. Consequently, the New South's 300,000 former slaveholders and 3.5 million former slaves remained dependent on each other for survival in an agrarian-dominant society despite emancipation.[6]

Civil war and emancipation "destroyed the old economic system but created nothing to replace it."[7] Instead, national lawmakers supported the emergence of a free labor market, similar to the one used by the North. With the exception of the South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida coasts where Union General William Sherman confiscated and redistributed abandoned plantation lands to 40,000 freedmen, antebellum landowners predominantly retained ownership of their pre-war land holdings.[8] Thus, Southern society entered into a free labor system that opposed 250 years of Southern social identity without altering the pre-existing power relationship. Under the free labor system, plantation lords became the employers and freedmen their employees, but neither wished

[3] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Collins Inc., 1988), 125.

[4] Horace Mann Bond, "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction" in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 378.

[5] Department of the Interior*, Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, US Government Census (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), 8.

[6] R. Tracy McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 368.

[7] Harold D. Woodman, "The Reconstruction of the Cotton Plantation in the New South" in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 367.

[8] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 159.

to cede control to the other. Landowners sought working conditions and social arrangements that resembled those of antebellum plantations. Comparatively, newly freed slaves desired fair compensation and viewed themselves as partners rather than subordinates in the agricultural enterprise. As a result, defeat thrust a free labor system upon a socially unprepared and unsupportive society.[9]

Although the financial devastation of war and subsequent economic crash crippled the antebellum planter class, wealthy landowners managed as a group to retain a relative position of power over freedmen laborers and white yeoman farmers. As landowners, planters maintained control over the sources of production and the only viable means of economic recovery. Furthermore, a severe cash shortage and lack of centralized credit left no means for landowners to pay laborers, leading to agricultural share systems across the South.[10] Under such arrangements, which were a precursor to sharecropping, laborers received compensation only after the season's harvest. Labor contracts initially based on a flat-fee structure eventually gave way to agreements that tied wages to profits while crop prices plummeted. During poor growing seasons, planters routinely dismissed freedmen laborers on trumped up criminal charges before collecting harvest profits, to avoid bankruptcy. As Reconstruction progressed, freedmen temporarily increased their economic and political position in society, but the underlying pattern of sharecropping survived the Radical and Redeemer political transitions.

Redeemer Democrats rose to power in 1874 and 1876 following endemic government corruption during Radical Reconstruction and the depression it precipitated in 1873. Although both political parties had an equal part in corrupt behavior, as the majority political party, Republicans received the bulk of popular scorn after 1873.[11] A widespread "get rich quick" mentality consumed many elected officials at every level of governance who "saw nothing wrong with taking a piece of the expanded economic pie."[12] Republican corruption associated with "railroad corporations formed a major part of the indictment brought against [Radical Reconstruction] legislatures." [13] The opportunities for bribery were numerous with the "expansion of public responsibilities

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[9] Woodman, "The Reconstruction of the Cotton Plantation in the New South," 367.
[10] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 375.
[11] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 387.
[12] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 384-5.
[13] Dunning, "*Military Government in the South During Reconstruction,*" 393-4.

and the rapid growth of capitalist enterprise." Many legislators were directors of or held stock in the railroad companies receiving public monies.[14] Railroad growth spurred the post-war economy, but its financial status was entirely reliant on speculative credit and popular misperception. Despite extensive Southern government spending, the railroad gap between North and South worsened during Radical Reconstruction and by 1876, more than 50% of railroads across the North and South were bankrupt.[15] The iron industry met an identical fate; even the famed Richmond Tredegar Iron Works, one of few such industrial sites to survive the war, declared bankruptcy.[16] As general unemployment rose, already low staple crop and land values tumbled. The 65 months that followed the September 1873 crash still marks the longest period of economic contraction in US history. Until the 1930s, the American public referred to the depression of 1873 as the Great Depression.[17]

As with the South, Afghanistan emerged from civil war bankrupt and physically devastated. Two decades of war cost Afghanistan an estimated $240 billion in destroyed infrastructure and lost developmental opportunities.[18] Infrastructure that endured Soviet occupation succumbed to either the Taliban or the five years of drought in the late 1990s. In the twilight of Taliban rule, every manmade structure from buildings to roads and power lines "looked like burned-out shells or upturned carcasses."[19] Previously lush agriculture tracts were awash with landmines; tens of millions of mines blanketed Afghanistan.[20] Karzai's paltry nine million dollar treasury paled in comparison to the $200 million he required to fund modest salaries and keep the government afloat for the first six months.[21] As in the South after Reconstruction, no banking system existed. In addition to bartering, three different currencies were in circulation across Afghanistan. The Afghani, the most widely used, was virtually worthless, valued at 48,000 to one against the US dollar in 2001.

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[14] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 385.

[15] Carter Goodrich, "Public Aid to Railroads in the Reconstruction South," *Political Science Quarterly*, 71, no. 3 (September 1956), 438.

[16] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 535.

[17] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 512-3.

[18] Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011), 63.

[19] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*,171-2.

[20] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 34.

[21] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 178.

Regional warlords monopolized power in Afghanistan from 2002 to 2003 with loyal indigenous militias and a steady supply of foreign monies, provided to assist with the pursuit of al Qaeda militants, in addition to locally imposed tariffs and manipulation of illicit drug trafficking. Despite outwardly supporting the governance process in Bonn, Germany that appointed Karzai's interim cabinet, finite US political goals in Afghanistan translated to moderated financial support and a preference for local warlords over central governance. US aid to Afghanistan totaled $908 million in 2002 and $970 million in 2003.[22] By comparison, US financial support for Pakistan during the same two-year period equaled $2 billion and $1.8 billion respectively.[23] Instead, the US utilized regional warlords in an effort to topple the al Qaeda network still operating on the periphery without incurring a long-term and costly commitment to rebuild Afghanistan.[24]

After 2003, however, economic stagnation and continued peripheral violence convinced international donors, including the US, to increase support for Karzai's government with substantial military and financial investments. The resurgent central government, backed by a United Nations effort to disarm warlord militias, restored a more traditional urban-rural balance, but was incapable of denuding rural warlord influence. Warlords continued to exploit tribal loyalties and poor rural economic conditions at the expense of central governance and Hamid Karzai's legitimacy.

The opium trade, valued at 35% of Afghanistan's gross national product by 2006, endured the transition from war to reconstruction.[25] War-induced devastation, persistent drought, and the high economic return encouraged farmer involvement in poppy production.[26] Beginning in the 1990s, "farmers could mortgage their crop to dealers for a cash loan while dealers provided protection" and assisted with harvesting responsibilities. The opium trade funded soldiers, weapons and food for most civil war participants, including some Northern Alliance factions. By 2005, more than two million Afghan

[22] Kenneth Katzman, *Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy*, Report for Congress (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, February 2013), 69.

[23] Susan B Epstein and K. Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan: U.S Foreign Assistance*, Report for Congress (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, June 2011), 19.

[24] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 177.

[25] John A. Glaze, *Opium and Afghanistan: Reassessing U.S. Counternarcotics Strategy* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2007), 5.

[26] Glaze, *Opium and Afghanistan*, 3.

farmers grew poppy as their primary staple crop.[27] The Taliban, who retained substantial influence in poppy-rich regions, relied on opium revenue as their primary funding source throughout the post-2001 insurgency, earning $300 million annually.[28] By 2007, the production peak, [29] Afghanistan's 477,000 acres of poppy supplied 92% of the world's illegal opium, from which the Taliban derived 80% of the generated revenue while farmers received comparatively little.[30] Consequently, the revenue sharing arrangement between Taliban leaders and poor Afghan farmers, one that drug traffickers and warlords similarly exploited in dealings with poor farmers, resembled the sharecropping agreements of the South.

As with the South, political officials aggressively exploited opportunities to profit personally while in power. The Governor of Helmund Province, Sher Mohammed Akhunzada, was one of many accused of profiting from the opium trade. According to one account, British officials claimed Akhunzada set aside "prime real estate parcels and commanded hundreds of well-paid gunmen" to protect the poppy industry, gunning down local activists opposed to his efforts.[31] In neighboring Kandahar, Governor Yousof Pashtun complained in 2003 that "corruption was rampant in the local administration" and that local commanders, militias and police committed 80% of the crime.[32] Drug money also played a significant role in the 2005 parliamentary elections, where 17 known traffickers won electoral victory and another 24 were associated with drug gangs.[33] A January 2010 survey conducted by the UN Office of Drugs and Crime "claimed that 59% of Afghan citizens indicated corruption as the most prominent problem" facing their nation. The same survey reported that 50% of Afghan citizens paid kickbacks to political

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[27] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 318.

[28] Majority Staff of the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Warlord, Inc.: Extortion and Corruption Along the U.S. Supply Chain in Afghanistan*, Report to Congress (Washington DC: U.S. House of Representatives, 2010), 39.

[29] Glaze, *Opium and Afghanistan*, v.

[30] Alissa J. Rubin and Matthew Rosenberg, "U.S. Efforts Fail to Curtail Trade in Afghan Opium," *New York Times*, 26 May 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/27/world/asia/drug-traffic-remains-as-us-nears-afghanistan-exit.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&. (accessed 14 February 2013).

[31] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 322.

[32] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 323.

[33] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 329.

officials, and nationally, bribes totaled $2.5 billion or one-quarter of the nation's 2009 gross domestic product (GDP).[34]

The increased flow of foreign aid after 2003 also encouraged corruption. Despite international efforts to stem the follow of opium and tighten controls on the flow of foreign aid, as of 2012, Afghanistan ranked last of 176 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, tied with North Korea and Somalia.[35] Furthermore, extensive money laundering activities have occurred at Kabul International Airport, where numerous Afghan power brokers and government officials have shipped pallets of money out of the nation in advance of the planned 2014 US withdrawal.[36] Following the course charted by Southern Republicans, endemic government corruption fueled popular Afghan discontent with elected officials and served as the Taliban's chief justification for continued insurgency.

Both societies emerged from civil war in economic ruin, but in both cases, traditional power relationships prevailed. Southern landowners and Afghan warlords maintained localized authority over poorer rural populations by retaining control over the primary means of autonomy. Additionally, the speculative credit that encouraged rapid railroad expansion in the South provided an artificial economic stimulus akin to foreign aid and illicit poppy production in Afghanistan. Finally, widespread government corruption that accompanied financial progress in both societies squandered public support and provided cause for continued insurgency.

Societal Mosaic: Economic Stagnation

Predominantly homogenous agricultural economies proved highly volatile and provided little opportunity for poorer populations to elevate their economic status in the South and Afghanistan. The majority of both populations resided in rural areas, creating a dependence on agriculture and little growth in industrial capacity. Consequently, poverty persisted among traditionally poor groups. In the South, poverty following the economic depression of 1873 bridged the racial divide, affecting both former slaves and white yeoman farmers.

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[34] Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012), 257.
[35] Transparency International, "2012 Corruption Perception Index," http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2012/results/. (Berlin, Germany) (accessed 14 February 2013)
[36] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 76.

Despite industrial growth during Reconstruction, agriculture dominated the Southern economy. Entering the war, the South collectively possessed less industrial capacity than Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, or New York, and only 42% more capacity than Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.[37] By 1869, industrial measures across the South exceeded pre-war levels, but over the course of Reconstruction, the South "lost ground dramatically in every major category of industrial vitality when compared to the US as a whole."[38] Although some historians claim post-war planters intentionally delayed industrialization for their benefit, such notions ignore the South's pre-war industrial capacity and truly dire economic reality faced by state reconstruction governments.[39]

The South was in a far worse economic condition than most anticipated in April 1865. Many carpetbaggers who ventured south searching for profit or a new beginning returned home bankrupt by late 1866. Compounding the pressures of financial debt and physical devastation that confronted state legislatures, historically bad harvests in 1865 and 1866 crippled small yeoman farmers trying to rebuild and pay off wartime loans.[40] In Louisiana, 1867 marked the worst sugar harvest in 30 years.[41] Aggregate Southern property values declined 30% and average farms valuations by 50% from 1860 to 1870.[42] Positive trends in agricultural production and property values between 1870 and 1872, associated with railroad construction linking upcountry farms to commercial centers and the proliferation of better fertilizers, provided needed relief and hope, but both were short-lived.[43] Economic depression in 1873 reversed economic gains and ended any hope for a great leap in Southern industrial modernization during Reconstruction.[44]

Similar to independent farmers, the economic fate of former slaves depended on agricultural profit. Although it remains doubtful Southern planters intentionally delayed industrialization, traditional Southern powerbrokers did promote a "road to economic modernization that would perpetuate their class hegemony," thereby restricting the

[37] James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 7.

[38] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 10.

[39] Peter A. Coclanis and Scott Marler, "The Economics of Reconstruction," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 352.

[40] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 370.

[41] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 131.

[42] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 125.

[43] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 393.

[44] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 535.

upward mobility of freedmen.[45] Black Codes enacted during Presidential Reconstruction limited "economic opportunities of former slaves to agricultural labor on farms and plantations owned by whites" while significant taxes were imposed on any freedman "engaged in skilled occupations."[46] Coincidentally, limited industrialization and prevalent "discriminatory hiring practices in mills and factories, meant that former slaves had relatively few non-farm job opportunities."[47] The decision by Freedman's Bureau leaders to support landowner demands in hope of a rapid economic recovery forced former slaves to return to previous places of servitude under one-year contracts and gang labor arrangements. In an extreme case, Bureau officers arrested several hundred blacks in Richmond, Virginia and sent them back to plantations under contract.[48] Eventually, however, to the initial consternation of Southern landowners, gang labor arrangements gave way to tenant labor agreements and measured autonomy for black farmers.

The steady decline of land and staple crop prices forced tenant farmers, black and white, to borrow money from Southern-born merchants. To pay off loans, merchants compelled tenant and independent farmers to grow cotton rather than more stable foodstuffs. Unfortunately, worldwide demand for cotton that grew 5% annually from 1820 to 1860, only increased by an average of 1.3% annually between 1866 and 1895. Reduced demand led to increased stockpiles and lower prices during Reconstruction. Lower cotton prices in the wake of war meant that by 1867 less than 10% of Southern black farmers earned enough to support their family.[49]

A similar progression from desired economic independence to servitude befell white yeoman farmers. Wartime and early Reconstruction era loans included crop liens that merchants used to direct crop selection once payments were overdue. Therefore, widespread default forced many white farmers into the same tenant arrangements as former slaves. As cotton values continued to plummet, white farmers tumbled into an "economic status on par with freedmen."[50] Following economic collapse in 1873, the

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[45] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 377.
[46] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 368.
[47] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 369.
[48] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 154.
[49] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 141.
[50] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 381.

price of cotton bottomed out in 1877 at 50% of its 1872 peak.[51] Rather than pursuing upward mobility, tenant farmers of both races remained trapped in a cycle of debt and servitude after 1873.

As with the South, in Afghanistan a disjointed economy was all that remained after two decades of civil war destroyed all modern transportation infrastructure and means of commerce. Consequently, by 2002 more than one million Afghans were starving across the nation.[52] Although 80% of Afghan society derived its living from agriculture, just 12% of Afghan lands were arable, with irrigation infrastructure available to only 30% of the population.[53] As a result, agricultural output dictated and in many cases limited Afghanistan's economic progress, as measured by GDP. Since 2003, agricultural growth and decline has followed a sinusoidal path of alternating year-to-year positive and negative returns. GDP, though remaining positive in an absolute sense, has followed an identical path of year-to-year relative growth and decay. At its trough, aggregate GDP growth of 1.1% from 2004 to 2005 coincided with a decline in agricultural output of more than 20%. At its peak, a year-to-year national GDP increase of 21% from 2009 to 2010 resulted from an agricultural output in excess of 40%.[54]

As with the South, Afghanistan's persistent reliance on agriculture was not due to a lack of available industrial wealth, but a result of poor confidence. Initial popular euphoria in 2002, supported by the three million returning Afghan diaspora, gave way to political uncertainty by 2005. Worldwide confidence in Afghanistan's business potential plummeted due to "insecurity, corruption, [and] poor governance."[55] Initial success resulted from the international shift from poppy eradication to agricultural alternatives in 2009, targeting the 98% of Afghan poppy farmers who preferred growing legal staple crops.[56] Modest reductions in poppy production by 2010, however, reversed in 2011 and

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[51] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 535.
[52] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 178.
[53] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 174.
[54] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition: Looking Beyond 2014*, (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2012), 4.
[55] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition*, 6.
[56] Glaze, *Opium and Afghanistan*, 10.

2012 when the number of poppy-producing provinces and overall production rates increased.[57]

In addition to serving as a principle source of corruption and financial support for insurgency, the tenant arrangement made farmers subservient to insurgents, drug traffickers, warlords and government officials that benefited financially from the illegal trade. The cumulative weight of $102.7 billion in foreign aid produced only tenuous economic progress between 2010 and 2012, akin to the temporary Southern gains from 1870 to 1872.[58] As with the South, poverty became the natural condition for Afghan farmers.[59] Even raising the average rural farmer's standard of living to match pre-war conditions would still leave [Afghanistan] at the bottom of any development index."[60] Despite a nearly 300% growth in per capita GDP from $180 to $530 between 2002 and 2011, largely due to foreign aid, Afghanistan still ranked among the world's 10 lowest according to the World Bank.[61] As of 2011, more than one third of the population lived below the poverty line and another 50% were at a high risk of falling into poverty.[62]

As with the South, poor governance exacerbated the effects of poverty. Similar to the decision made by the Freedman's Bureau in 1865 to support planter demands for labor subordination to avert mass starvation, the US strategy based on financing local warlords in 2002 and 2003 as a means of defeating al Qaeda, in large part, propagated the subservience of the rural poor. Coincidently, the decision by most non-governmental organizations to operate independently, rather than in coordination with Afghan government ministries, omitted the benefits associated with pooling resources to tackle an economic disaster too large for any single entity to resolve.[63] As with President Andrew Johnson's "laissez-faire" approach to southern state support from 1865 to 1866, the international community and provisional Afghan government missed an opportunity to improve broad economic conditions while security and public support were conducive.

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[57] Katzman, Afghanistan, 18. Poppy-producing provinces increased from 14 to 17 between 2011 and 2012. The average poppy producing regions also grew to 18% of arable acreage from 2011 to 2012.
[58] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 61, 75.
[59] Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 12.
[60] Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 315.
[61] The Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *Towards a Self-Sustaining Afghanistan* (Kabul, Afghanistan: The Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2011), 5.
[62] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition*, 1.
[63] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 181.

According to a joint Ministry of Finance and World Bank report in 2011, distributed aid "accrued disproportionately to provinces with less poverty and higher household incomes."[64] The majority of international aid that did reach poorer populations targeted "conflict-affected provinces," and consequently, areas least able to translate financial assistance into sustainable economic growth.[65]

The South and Afghanistan emerged from civil war devoid of industrial capacity and dependent on homogeneous economies that rose and fell with agricultural production. Decisions made by outside agencies, the Freedmen's Bureau and US policymakers in the South and Afghanistan respectively, tacitly perpetuated existing power relationships despite intentions to the contrary. Additionally, tenant farmer arrangements, better known as sharecropping, in the Reconstruction South bore a close resemblance to the financial relationships between poppy farmers and those who benefited more prominently from the poppy trade in Afghanistan. In both circumstances, poverty persisted through reconstruction. In the South, the effects of economic depression persevered for two decades. Foreign donor contributions that account for 95% of Afghanistan's GDP, as of February 2013, were a crutch that appeared to stave off a similar economic collapse, one repeated throughout Afghanistan's rentier-state history.[66]

Autonomous Society: Powerbrokers and External Investment

Economically, the autonomous traditions of both societies were manifest by the persistent strength of rural powerbrokers relative to centralized authority and perpetuated by shared difficulties with securing private economic investment. The comparable influence of Southern planters and merchants on the one hand, and Afghan warlords on the other stemmed from similar population distributions, where 90% and 80% of Southern and Afghan societies, respectively, resided in rural areas, beyond the direct influence of central governance.[67]

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[64] Briefing, Ministry of Finance and The World Bank, subject: Transition in Afghanistan: Looking Beyond 2014, 21 November 2011. Slide 22.

[65] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition*, 17.

[66] Katzman, Afghanistan, 60.

[67] Katzman, Afghanistan, 69, and McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 370.

Southern planters transitioned from "laborlords" under the antebellum slave labor system to "landlords" with Reconstruction era free labor arrangements.[68] From a callous planter's perspective, the principal difference was that under the former, slaves were financial collateral, but with the latter, freedmen no longer held intrinsic financial value. Instead, freedmen, as with any free market employee, were valued for their level of production relative to the cost of their labor. The initial 33% drop in available labor after April 1865, when women and children withdrew from the labor force, gave tremendous collective power to male freedmen laborers who saw themselves as partners in production rather than subordinates.[69] Their negotiating advantage, however, was short-lived.

The lack of employment alternatives available to former slaves, the Freedmen's Bureau intervention on behalf of planters, and the inability of planters to pay consistent wages produced the Southern sharecropping system. Sharecropping arrangements broke from the one-year gang labor contracts that required the same hours and working conditions imposed under slavery.[70] Freedmen also preferred the new arrangement because it offered greater familial autonomy, allowing the family unit to serve as the core element on production. Conversely, the system ensured landowners retained authority over all means of production, including land and equipment. Without ownership and no centralized source of federally supplied credit, the economic fate of sharecropping families rested squarely with the landowner. Although sharecropping was a natural economic evolution given the constraints in capital and employment alternatives, it perpetuated class disparity and empowered localized land aristocrats along the South's former plantation belt.[71]

Southern-born merchants joined traditional land-owning planters among those who gained immense local influence. Merchants flocked to towns across the South, creating regional economic monopolies by providing loans to destitute farmers, black and white, at exorbitant interest rates.[72] With no formal banking and credit system, merchants gained extensive influence when state governments decided not to pass laws absolving

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[68] Peter A. Conclanis and Scott Marler, "The Economics of Reconstruction," in *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Lacy K. Ford. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 353.
[69] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 139.
[70] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 135.
[71] Conclanis, "The Economics of Reconstruction," 352.
[72] McKenzie, "Southern Labor and Reconstruction," 373.

wartime debts out of fear that such debtor-relief legislation might scare off perspective outside investors. Merchants purchased vast tracts of farmland to parse out to black and white sharecropping families in rural districts at bargain prices while land values were in sharp decline.[73] Collectively, rural planters and merchants consolidated the South's agricultural base. The lack of northern investment and the persistence of peripheral agrarian dominance ensured that power in the South remained in traditional Southern hands.

Few Northern capitalists desired to "place their money in a war-torn, unsettled" South.[74] During Presidential Reconstruction, Southern property owners and merchants offered investment opportunities to Northern capitalists, but few were enticed. Although Southern Democrats later reviled Northern carpetbaggers during Radical Reconstruction, they recognized in the immediate aftermath of war that northern capital, "[raised] land prices and [rescued] many former slaveholders from debt."[75] One Boston cotton merchant, Edward S. Tobey, testified before the Boston Board of Trade in 1865 that the South's capital deficiency was so severe that Southern planters made frequent requests of "Northern capitalists to invest in cotton lands at low prices."[76] Yet, despite carpetbagger contributions, private capital failed to arrive in the amount needed to spark economic recovery.[77]

In spite of the obvious need for capital and the potential for high returns on investment, planters and capitalists alike recognized that Southern petitions were futile so long as the political climate remained unsettled. During Presidential Reconstruction, the delayed readmission of states into the Union and the imposition of "semi-military rule" were problematic. The South Carolina legislature exempted "manufacturers from all state and local taxation, but failed to attract northern capital partly because of the uncertainties of Reconstruction."[78] Subsequently, Radical Reconstruction brought

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[73] Steve Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies," in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 453.
[74] Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 100.
[75] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 137.
[76] Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction," 102.
[77] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 391.
[78] Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction," 101.

political upheaval, insurgency and severe security concerns. Ironically, the depression of 1873 finally induced northern capitalists to invest in the South with the return of traditional Southern Democrat governments and the localized end of insurgency, and retrenched economic policies of lower taxation and restrained spending. Among the many investors, northern industrialists, such as Collis P. Huntington purchased and consolidated all Southern railroads that fell into receivership.[79] As perceived political stability returned with Redeemer Democrats, "northerners invested huge sums in southern factories, mines, railroads, and real estate," but those investments were neither sufficiently early nor substantive enough to alleviate the effects of depression.[80]

As with Southern planters and merchants, Afghan warlords exerted dominant influence over a predominantly rural society during reconstruction. In 2002, money and power resided with the principal group of warlords who repelled Soviet forces in the 1980s and battled the Taliban through the late 1990s rather than the newly appointed and unproven central government in Kabul. Two decades of war eroded the influence of transient Kabul governments, shifting the power balance squarely in favor of peripheral autonomy. During the lengthy warring period, warlords, who commanded the loyalty of local police and militias, gradually earned the loyalty and often indebtedness of tribal elders who depended on them for protection and economic survival.

In the wake of war, warlords perpetuated wartime economic fiefdoms, taxing local populations under their protection and erecting checkpoints along trade routes to impose customs tariffs on commerce. In 2002, inter-state trade produced an estimated $500 million in customs revenue across Afghanistan, but only $80 million reached the national treasury in Kabul.[81] Ismail Khan, Herat's principal warlord, earned $160,000 daily from Iranian and Turkmen commercial traffic, while Northern warlords profited from the extraction and sale of minerals to Central Asian buyers.[82] In poppy-rich regions, warlords either protected or participated directly in the opium industry, despite centralized efforts to curb production.

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[79] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 535-6.
[80] Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction," 100-1.
[81] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 186.
[82] Rashid, *Descent into Chaos,* 187.

Warlords extended localized influence to national institutions over the course of Karzai's administration. With the added financial backing of the international community in 2002 and 2003, many warlords tried to intimidate constitutional *jirga* candidates and even sought lucrative political appointments within the national government. In exchange for prestigious government positions, Karzai's 2009 reelection campaign "recruited so many of Afghanistan's old warlords to his banner that one might have thought the election was being held in 2002."[83] From their newly acquired national and provincial political positions, peripheral warlords positioned themselves to benefit personally from the $102.7 billion in cumulative foreign financial aid and growing private commercial interests. An early 2012 agreement with the China National Petroleum Company to develop oil fields in the Amu Darya basin, valued at three billion dollars, also included a local Afghan partner firm owned by relatives of President Karzai.[84]

Despite the apparent flood of foreign aid, Afghanistan struggled early to entice private investors.[85] Well-documented political uncertainty, corruption, and poor security mirrored the issues faced across the Reconstruction South. To attract foreign investment, Afghan officials, including Karzai, routinely attended international donor conferences, while also including language in the 2005 national constitution that prohibited discrimination against foreign-owned business interests.[86] Afghanistan's first significant private investor, Coca Cola, constructed a $25 million Kabul bottling factory in 2006,

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[83] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 331.

[84] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 71.

[85] Ministry of Finance, *Donor Financial Review* (Kabul, Afghanistan: Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2009), 4. Although the apparent flood of foreign government aid to Afghanistan appears problematic for an economic comparison between cases, a per annum comparison in 2002 dollars proves otherwise. An evaluation of post-war per capita US government expenditures relative to combined per capita foreign donor support for Afghanistan shows reconstruction progressed at a relative deficit in the immediate aftermath of war. The per capita investment average of $57 in 2002 and 2003 was far below the normalized US government per capita budget of $165 and $119 in 1866 and 1867, respectively (data obtained from pages 162-3 of *Financial History of the United States* by Paul Studenski and Herman Edward). Per capita spending in Afghanistan, however, surpassed federal support for the South after the international community committed to an extensive nation-building program in 2003. By 2007, combined per capital aid increased to $292, according to Afghanistan's Ministry of Finance, while per capita spending from 1867 to 1876 remained consistent with spending in 1866.

[86] Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, "2012 Investment Climate State – Afghanistan," United States Department of State, June 2012, http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ics/2012/191093.htm. (accessed 17 February 2013)

where Afghan security and infrastructure were the most reliable.[87] In 2007, the Afghan government signed its most lucrative agreement to date, a three billion dollar contract with the China Metallurgical Group to develop and mine the Mes Aynak Copper Field.[88] Unfortunately, by 2012 the venture had not begun in earnest due to an active Taliban insurgency in the region.[89] As with the Chinese copper venture, the slow pace of infrastructure development dictated that commercial interests in Afghanistan's mineral, natural gas, or petroleum wealth be accompanied by a substantive private investment in railroads, roads, and power generation facilities.[90]

As security improved, third parties such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) took a greater interest in Afghanistan's potential role as a regional contributor and bridge between the Central and Southeast Asian economies. Through the Central Asia Regional Economic Development Program, the ADB announced in late 2011 its plan to fund the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India petroleum and natural gas pipeline project, derailed in 1998 by the Taliban's egregious human rights violations.[91] The ADB also provided $165 million to complete Afghanistan's first railroad line, a 45-mile stretch connecting Mazar-e-Sharif with Uzbekistan and the Soviet-built Central Asia railway network.[92] Despite the apparent progress in attracting foreign investors, however, Afghanistan still ranked 160 out of 183 according to the World Bank's 2012 Doing Business scale, in part because "working-level government officials have exhibited anti-competitive and protectionist bias in some sectors in which state-owned enterprises are active."[93]

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[87] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 65.
[88] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 70-1.
[89] Aryaman Bhatnagar, "Foreign Investment in Afghanistan Faces Obstacles," *Atlantic Sentinel*, 12 July 2012, http://atlanticsentinel.com/2012/07/foreign-investment-in-afghanistan-faces-obstacles/. (accessed 17 February 2013)
[90] Bhatnagar, "Foreign Investment in Afghanistan Faces Obstacles," 2. Between 2002 and 2012, US contributions through the Economic Support and Development Assistance Funds totaled just $15.9 billion compared to $51 billion in support of ANSF development and $557 billion for combat operations according to Katzman.
[91] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 72.
[92] Asian Development Bank, "Afghanistan Connects Through CAREC Road and Railway Corridors," Asian Development Bank, 24 October 2012, http://www.adb.org/news/afghanistan/afghanistan-connects-through-carec-road-and-railway-corridors?ref=countries/afghanistan/news. (accessed 17 February 2013)
[93] Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, "2012 Investment Climate State – Afghanistan," 1, 4.

Finally, in a twist of historical symmetry, both the South and Afghanistan searched for economic recovery in the midst of broader economic decline. The depression of 1873 further curtailed the flow of federal funds and the general availability of investment capital eight years after the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, Virginia. Similarly, the global recession of 2008 confounded international efforts to resurrect Afghanistan's economy seven years after Northern Alliance forces expelled the Taliban from Kabul. In both cases, economic hardships endured by those providing external support for recovery resulted in a devaluation of social changes deemed important at the beginning of reconstruction and a general decline in international enthusiasm.

In the South and Afghanistan, local powerbrokers exercised significant economic influence over predominantly rural populations throughout reconstruction while retaining a sizable degree of economic autonomy relative to limited central government authority. Similarly, physical security and political stability were necessary precursors to private economic investments in infrastructure and industrial capacity during both reconstruction periods. Without stable political governance and reliable security, private sector investors were largely unwilling to assume risk in the immediate aftermath of either civil war. Potential investors were similarly leery following the emergence of active insurgencies in both cases. Consequently, economic development did not occur swiftly or uniformly across either downtrodden society, and in many instances were more apparent than real.

Conclusion

Southern and Afghan societies were economically devastated from civil war, underpinning a symmetric economic progression for both during reconstruction. Despite an apparent opportunity to recast traditional class structures, circumstances in the South and Afghanistan merely reinforced preexisting distinctions and power disparities. Southern planters and merchants, as well as Afghan warlords retained possession of the principle means of peripheral autonomy. Consequently, each group negotiated post-war power arrangements, with the tacit assistance of external influence, from relative positions of strength. In the South, poverty persisted among freedmen and engulfed many white yeoman farmers due to sharecropping arrangements with planters and

merchants. In Afghanistan, reliance by the rural poor on warlords for employment and protection during war translated to dependence during reconstruction in much the same manner. In both cases, recovery and diversification of predominantly homogenous, agricultural economies accompanied the first tentative steps toward political stability and security, though neither economy escaped its dependence on agriculture. Pre-existing infrastructure, devastated by civil war, remained woefully underdeveloped throughout both reconstruction periods, making private investment and industrial growth exceedingly difficult. As a result, progress was neither swift nor uniform in either the South or Afghanistan.

CHAPTER 5
Synthesis and Prediction

Symmetry exists between reconstruction of the South and Afghanistan despite the separation of time and geography. Both societies shared three common traits that withstood the trials of war and external impulses for change: highly differentiated class structures, ethnically and economically diverse societal mosaics, and a nearly universal belief in peripheral and societal autonomy. The legitimacy afforded by external and indigenous security forces enabled reconstruction governments in both cases to subdue these three traits artificially. Yet, suppression in the case of the South did not yield permanent social change. Instead, a New South resembling its former antebellum image emerged with Redemption and the election of 1876. For Afghanistan, 2014 will serve as a political inflection point, comparable to the election of the 1876, and Afghan society will choose, as the South did, whether war or peace will follow reconstruction, and whether lasting change will accompany the nation's next chapter.

New South: Old Made New

An anonymous man wrote in 1877, "Status quo antebellum or things as they were before Lincoln, slavery excepted: such is the tendency everywhere."[1] The quarter century that followed Reconstruction proved this statement prophetic. After 1877, Southern Democrats utilized home rule to reverse social changes instituted by Radical Republican governments and transform the New South into its quasi-Old form. State governments across the South instituted a social order that closely resembled its antebellum predecessor with "systems of political, class, and race relations."[2] With Redemption, "blacks in the Redeemers' New South found themselves enmeshed in a seamless web of oppression, whose interwoven economic, political, and social strands all reinforced one another."[3] Although the "new social order did not come into being

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[1] Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 262.

[2] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Collins Inc., 1988), 587.

[3] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 598.

immediately, nor could the achievements of Reconstruction be entirely undone," the changes imposed endured for nearly seven decades.[4]
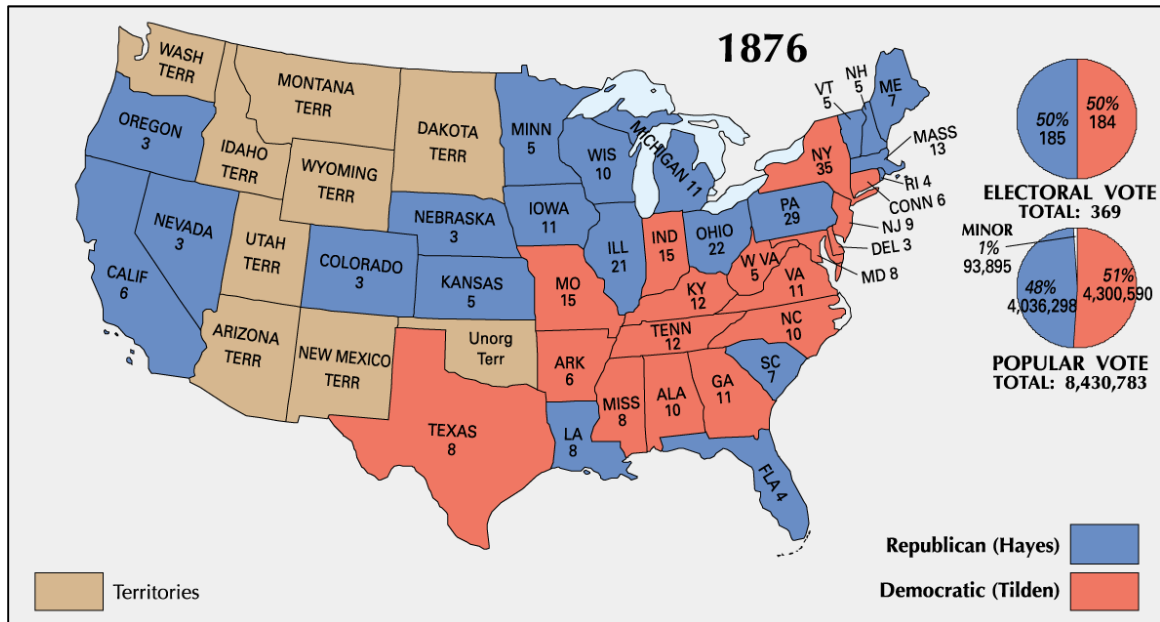

Figure 4: 1876 US Presidential Election Results
Source: KnowledgeRush.com, 2009, "US Presidential Election, 1876,"
http://knowledgerush.com/kr/encyclopedia/U.S._presidential_election-1876

       Southern Democrats threatened renewed civil war in late 1876. The Presidential election, ripe with insurgent violence, voter intimidation, and ballot box corruption, provided neither candidate with an electoral majority as shown in Figure 4. Democratic candidate, Samuel Tilden, won a clear majority of the popular vote in every Southern state, but "Republican election boards in Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana invalidated enough returns from counties rife with violence to declare" Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes victorious.[5] Democratic newspapers in the South called for "Tilden or War," while former slaves were roundly convinced that a Tilden victory meant a renewal of slavery. In opposition to Democrats' threats of an armed "march on Washington," Republicans insisted Hayes would have won easily in an honest election, and vowed to resist Tilden's attempt to seize the Presidency through violence and fraud.[6] The election crisis of 1876, therefore, served as the political pivot that pointed the South

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[4] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 587-8.
[5] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 575-6.
[6] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 576.

either back to open revolt or political reconciliation and enduring stability in exchange for aborted social change.

Figure 5: Reconciliation Rather Than Bloodshed, 17 February 1877
Source: HarpWeek.com, 2009,"A Truce, Not a Compromise," http://elections. harpweek.com/1876/cartoon-1876-Medium.asp?UniqueID=40&Year=1876

Reconstruction irrevocably transitioned to Redemption on 26 February 1877, when "four Southern Democrats met with five Ohio Republicans at Washington's Wormley House" to resolve the presidential election crisis of 1876. The bargain of 1877 installed Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as President of the United States on 4 March 1877 in exchange for Southern home rule.[7] Although the President did not direct a comprehensive withdrawal of soldiers from the South, within two months of inauguration, Hayes did order "federal troops surrounding the South Carolina and Louisiana statehouses, where [Republicans] claimed the office of governor, to return to their barracks."[8] Without federal support, violence and fraud-induced gubernatorial election results stood, forcing the lone remaining Southern Republican governors to yield peacefully to their Democratic foes.

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[7] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 580-1.
[8] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 582.

The "final triumph of Redemption" meant the "very men who held [blacks] as slaves" in the Old South would guide the New South after Reconstruction, according to a Louisiana freedman.[9] Although the New South aristocracy resembled its Old South predecessor in ideology, it differed slightly in composition. Planters "became businessmen, as did a growing merchant class that acquired large landholdings" during and after Reconstruction. [10]   Planters and, to a slightly lesser degree, land-owning merchants formed a business-oriented aristocracy that united the New South's political future with its economic fortune amidst the industrial pressures of the Gilded Age. Atop the social and political structure, industrialists succeeded at the behest of planters. Southern planters supported modest industrialization because "[it supported] a system of caste" and the continued dominance of the agrarian society.[11]

As with the antebellum South, the broader Redeemer movement offered political endorsement to the economic and social interests of planters and land-owning merchants who comprised a very small percentage of Southern society. Southern Redeemers "included secessionist Democrats and Union Whigs, veterans of the Confederacy and rising young leaders, traditional planters and advocates of a modernized New South."[12] Together, according to Eric Foner, Redeemers shared "a commitment to dismantling the Reconstruction state, to reducing the political power of blacks, and reshaping the South's legal system in the interests of labor control and racial subordination."[13]

State-sanctioned racial distinctions returned with Democratic legislation to marginalize the Fourteenth Amendment, and in the aftermath of Reconstruction, "the labor question" provided the mechanism by which wealthy landowners asserted control over former slaves and poor whites. Emancipation introduced four million unskilled and uneducated laborers into a new, seemingly foreign free labor system. The proliferation of Southern sharecropping arrangements led former slaves and antebellum white yeoman farmers to common tenancy. Among southern white farmers, "fear of slipping into

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[9] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 582.

[10] Harold D. Woodman, "The Reconstruction of the Cotton Plantation in the New South" in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 373.

[11] James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 1984), 15.

[12] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 588.

[13] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 588.

tenancy intensified their frustrations with high interest rates, tight credit, and local banking and mercantile monopolies, and helped to spur them into political revolt in the 1880s and 90s."[14]

Cooperatives and advocacy groups such as the Farmers' Alliance united agrarian laborers against landowners. Excluding merchants and bankers from Alliance membership, farmers drove a wedge between sharecroppers and wealthy landowners that "drew small-town merchant [and] professional classes even closer to the planters by using them as scapegoats in order to [unite poor] farmers."[15] For Southern Democrats, however, the "greatest threat posed by [labor] movements was the appeal to black voters, an appeal that opponents warned would surely divide whites and quickly undermine their overall supremacy."[16] As a result, by the turn of the century, the racial divisions that defined the South's antebellum social order returned with familiar consequences.

The social status of blacks declined after Reconstruction, when labor relation fears, supported by traditional racial divisions, translated to political action. Southern Democrats "rewrote the statute books so as to reinforce planters' control over their labor force." State legislatures imposed vagrancy laws allowing for the arrest of any person without employment, repealed laws enacted to suppress Ku Klux Klan (KKK) violence and expanded convict lease systems. In South Carolina and Florida, "railroads, mining and lumber companies, and planters vied for access to [convicts]," the "majority of whom were blacks imprisoned as petty criminals" due to newly imposed vagrancy statutes.[17] Coincidently, state governors and legislatures consolidated authority by "restoring the oligarchic antebellum system of local government" in Black Belt counties by assuming authorities previously reserved for county commissioners and justices of the peace.

The imposition of new bond measures by state legislatures and physical intimidation forced many local Republican officials from elected office.[18] Across the South, Redeemer-dominated state legislatures "gerrymandered to reduce Republican voting strength" and overturned suffrage reforms with new state constitutions that

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[14] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 23.

[15] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 23.

[16] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 23.

[17] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 593-4.

[18] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 591.

marginalized the Fourteenth Amendment.[19] Despite the extensive efforts of Southern Democrats, black politicians endured in isolated cases. In 1901, the lone remaining Southern black member of Congress, George H. White of North Carolina, concluded his term of office; Southern black representatives did not return to Congress for seven decades.[20] In Alabama, the Constitution of 1901 required voters pay a poll tax, possess vaguely defined "good character," and have steady employment. By 1903, state voter rolls that included 180,000 black men before ratification dwindled to less than 3,000.[21] With black voters effectively removed from the Southern political system, the southern delegation settled down to near universal white Democratic domination.

Uncontested Democratic policies perpetuated the antebellum wealth disparity that reemerged during Reconstruction, encouraging Southern blacks to uproot and look west for opportunity. Legislatures imposed crop lien laws that "redefined in the interest of the planter the terms of credit and the right to own property." Such statutes ensured the property owner's claim in any sharecropping arrangement took precedence over the laborers, "shifting much of the risk of farming from employer to employee."[22] North Carolina's Landlord and Tenant Act of 1877 gave full power to property owners, to whom it granted complete control of the crop until the tenant paid their rent in full. The act also assigned the property owner as final authority of when the tenant had met their obligation, thereby making the landowner "the court, sheriff and jury" in agricultural affairs.[23] By 1879, Southern blacks fled "conditions that threatened their lives and property, and were setting out to improve their fortunes as farmers in the West." Between 1879 and 1880, more than 21,000 blacks departed from Louisiana, Texas and Mississippi alone, bound for the plains of Kansas.[24] The exodus threatened the Southern agricultural economy dependent on cheap labor for profitability.

As with agriculture, the "industries that grew most rapidly in the post-Reconstruction decades were typical of an underdeveloped economy in that they utilized

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[19] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 590.

[20] Earl Black and Merle Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2002), 12.

[21] Encyclopedia of Alabama, *New South Era* (Montgomery, AL: Alabama Department of Education, 2012), http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h=2128. (accessed 20 February 2013)

[22] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 594.

[23] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 594.

[24] Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction*, 160-1.

cheap labor and abundant raw materials."[25] The South attracted northern industrial

interests looking to operate "free from the restraints of labor militancy and the threat of

increased government regulation" present in the North.   In essence, industrialists were as

interested as planters were in "maintaining social and political stability, low taxes,

inexpensive labor, and minimal, conservative government." [26] During the two decades

following Reconstruction, the number of operating factories in Alabama increased from

2,000 to 5,500, eventually employing 33,000 laborers.[27] Birmingham led Alabama's

industrial growth, with the aid of railroad expansion that situated the city as the Southern

crossroads for the coal, iron and limestone industries. Birmingham's property values

increased 500-fold between 1871 and 1900, earning the city its nickname as the "Magic

City."[28] Across Alabama, iron production increased from 203,000 tons in 1885 to

915,000 tons in 1892.[29] Yet, despite industrial expansion, by 1900 "only 6% of the

Southern labor force worked in manufacturing."[30] By comparison, the agricultural sector

employed 82% of Southern laborers in 1900.[31] The New South, like the Old, was an

agrarian-dominated society, supportive of an antebellum political establishment's pursuit

of traditional social policies.

In most Southern states, Redeemer legislatures "called conventions to rewrite the

Reconstruction constitutions of 1868."[32]   State governments slashed budgets, "prohibited

the use of state aid for internal improvements, and repudiated most of the debts incurred

by the Republican [legislatures]."[33] To support smaller budgets, states dismantled public

education systems instituted under Radical Reconstruction. Texas instituted a fee system

for attending school, Alabama and Mississippi "abolished statewide school taxes," and

"Louisiana spent so little on education that it became the only state in the Union in which

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[25] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 17.
[26] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 16-7.
[27] Encyclopedia of Alabama, *New South Era* (Montgomery, AL: Alabama Department of Education, 2012), http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h=2128. (accessed 20 February 2013)
[28] Encyclopedia of Alabama, *New South Era* (Montgomery, AL: Alabama Department of Education, 2012), http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h=2128. (accessed 20 February 2013)
[29] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 19.
[30] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 597.
[31] Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984*, 24-25.
[32] Michael Perman, "Reconstruction under Attack" in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 398.
[33] Perman, "Reconstruction under Attack," 398.

the percentage of native whites unable to read or write actually rose between 1880 and 1890."[34] Without state financial support, disparities between public schooling available to black and white students widened during Redemption. In Louisiana, as with other states, the constitution "was rewritten in 1879 to permit separate schools and in 1898 to require them."[35]

The "separate but equal" mentality also affected black militias. Reconstruction era black militias outlasted other social reforms, though eventually with the help of federal legislation Southern Democrats expunged these militias as well. Black militias survived Redemption in eight out of the 11 former Confederate states, composing 20 to 40% of each state's militia force. In total, more than 4,000 black soldiers retained arms and ranks earned under Republican governance.[36] On a rare occasion, state legislatures employed black militias to restore order among predominantly black communities, but mainly they drilled and participated in ceremonies and parades along with, though typically behind, their white counterparts. The National Guard movement that concluded with the Dick Act of 1903, however, encouraged Southern state legislatures to abandon black militia programs. State legislators, utilizing informal home rule authority gained from the presidential bargain of 1877 to prioritize newly instituted segregation statutes, opted to recast existing white militias under the National Guard structure, rather than forming interracial units.[37]

During the presidential election crisis of 1876, state home rule outweighed all other points of negotiation for Southern Democrats.[38] Redeemers cared little of who ruled in Washington, only that they would have "a free hand in managing the region's domestic affairs."[39] Democratic legislation reversing Reconstruction reforms to education, suffrage, judicial representation, and societal protection created a South distinct from the larger nation of which it was a part. Redeemer policies, therefore,

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[34] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 589.

[35] Louis R. Harlan, "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp et al. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 333.

[36] Alwyn Barr, "The Black Militia of the New South: Texas as a Case Study," *The Journal of Negro History* 63, no. 3 (July 1978), 209.

[37] Barr, "The Black Militia of the New South," 214-5.

[38] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 581.

[39] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 587.

reestablished the antebellum status quo and ensured "the South remained a one-party region under the control of a reactionary ruling elite who used the same violence and fraud that had helped defeat Reconstruction to stifle internal dissent" until the 1960s.[40]

Disinterest and misperception among Northern Republicans facilitated Southern Democratic pursuits. As Reconstruction succumbed to Redemption, issues involving the South "played a steadily diminishing part in Northern Republican politics and support for the idea of federal intervention to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments continued to wane."[41] Initially, Northerners did not view the exodus of blacks from the South in 1879 as a response to the debasing conditions they faced, especially in the Deep South, but as the population rightfully exercising its prerogative under the free labor system.[42] Eventually, however, northern activists and lawmakers viewed the exodus for what it truly was, but as with Reconstruction efforts in aggregate, their objections were inconsequential from the perspective of traditional Southerners determined to return the region to its antebellum order and wealth.

Well before 1900, the New South closely resembled its antebellum self. Wealthy landowners exploited free labor sharecropping arrangements to retain their dominant economic and social status in Southern society. Additionally, Democrat-dominated state legislatures revived antebellum racial divisions despite constitutional amendments prohibiting such legislation. Gradually Southern governments subordinated blacks politically, socially, and economically, producing a social state resembling enslavement. In essence, Southern Redemption and home rule produced an antebellum homecoming.

Painful Lessons: Southern Homecoming

The South teaches numerous lessons, painfully so for those who pursued social reforms from afar with the sum of their personal faith in the natural equality of man. By any reasonable measure, Reconstruction was a failure as judged by the Radical Republican agenda and a disaster for former slaves. To suggest that the Old South reemerged during Redemption, however, would be an oversimplification, for no society can experience the devastation of civil war and the second war of Reconstruction, and avoid alteration.

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[40] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 604.
[41] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 586-7.
[42] Richardson, "Reconstruction and the Nation," 161-2.

Principally, the South's experience suggests the potential for deeply engrained societal reform is minimal when the impetus for change originates from an external source. In its 4 July 1868 edition, the Raleigh *Sentinel* quoted a North Carolina Democrat as stating, "When the bayonets shall depart…then look out for the reaction. Then the bottom rail will descend from the top of the fence."[43] As Redeemer Democrats returned to elected office between 1872 and 1876, they arrested the aggressive social modernizations imposed by Republicans from 1868 to 1872. Subsequently, in 1877, when President Hayes decided not to intervene militarily in South Carolina and Louisiana, the bayonet departed and took with it the hopes of the Southern black community.

The presence of federal troops and Freedman's Bureau officials, and the formation of armed black militias provided artificial legitimacy to Republican state governments during Radical Reconstruction, but elected officials failed to earn the support of the white population, particularly Southern planters who retained ownership of the states' primary source of economic recovery. As violence and fraud at the ballot box skewed the popular vote in favor of Southern Democrats, the popular support the Democratic Party enjoyed from the alienated native white Republican base made Redemption and its affects a *fait accompli*.

Beyond the principal lesson, the South's history offers a series of secondary, though still valuable points of instruction. First, the decision made by Freedman's Bureau officials not to reapportion agricultural tracts to former slaves in the wake of war, thereby not separating former powerbrokers from their traditional means of control and influence, likely decided the South's fate a decade before Reconstruction's end. This assertion, however, does not imply that a plethora of additional complications, principally a broader insurgency and the potential for mass starvation, would not have ensued had the reapportionment plan been implemented. The decision not to reapportion, however unintentional, did perpetuate preexisting power relationships.

Second, insurgency was not an end unto itself, but the physical manifestation of Southern Democrat political disenfranchisement. Consequently, localized insurgent movements disappeared as Redemption movements' gradually regained political

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[43] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 588.

authority between 1872 and 1876. The KKK, in particular, remained dormant until 1915, when the movement reemerged in response to the political and employment threat posed to native white laborers by the 6.3 million European and Asian immigrants that arrived between 1877 and 1900.[44] At its 1926 peak, the new KKK included 2.5 million members from the South, Midwest, and Pacific Northwest.[45]

Third, although the 1871 physical response by President Grant in South Carolina did not provide a permanent solution to insurgency, it did create a finite opportunity to affect a political solution. Although Grant's actions were successful in the short-term, the political failure to exploit the temporary state of relative calm ensured that insurgent violence would return.

Fourth, political, economic, and security successes and failures were self-reinforcing. Political and physical instability discouraged support from northern capitalists. Similarly, the failed economic policies and political corruption that produced depression caused a popular loss of confidence in Radical Republican governance.

Fifth, external populations have a limited attention span concerning social agendas beyond their immediate purview, particularly when those changes have no direct effect on their personal safety. The effects of economic depression, the battle between labor and capital, and calls for national government reform that consumed north reformers after 1873, displaced racial equality as their principal focus. Consequently, in 1883, "the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional," citing that the black community should not be "a special favorite" of the law.[46]

Finally, despite the emergence of a New South that closely resembled the Old South, the society's experience with Civil War and Reconstruction ensured the South after Redemption was not an exact replica of its predecessor. First, emancipation and the Thirteenth Amendment meant the irrevocable end of chattel slavery. Despite concerted efforts to instill a free labor system tangential to slavery, no form of free labor could fully replicate the controls of enslavement. Second, despite the adherence of planters to an agrarian society, gradual movement toward industrialization was inevitable. The

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[44] Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction*, 162-3.
[45] Encyclopedia of Alabama, *New South Era* (Montgomery, AL: Alabama Department of Education, 2012), http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h=2128. (accessed 20 February 2013)
[46] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 587.

explosion of cotton mills throughout the cotton-rich regions offered planters and land-owning merchants another means to increase their wealth and control over the agrarian economy.   Third, the period of Radical Reconstruction, though a collective failure, afforded former slaves the opportunity to participate politically and pursue an education that would have otherwise been impossible in the Old South. Although segregation returned, even Frederick Douglas acknowledged separate schools in the New South were "infinitely superior" to the absence of schools in the Old South.[47] Finally, along with political participation and education, emancipation afforded former slaves the freedom to uproot and depart the South in search of economic and political fortune elsewhere.

The South offers harsh lessons for those who wish to impose internal change from a distance. The lessons derived were broader than the contextual specifics in time and circumstance that confronted blacks and whites of late-nineteenth century America. In short, traditionally held beliefs and cultural practices require time and typically, physical confrontation, to change. Equality eventually came to blacks in the South, as did economic diversification, but seven decades and an internally-led movement were required to achieve what 12 years and external pressure could not during Reconstruction. These lessons provide a glimpse at the future that could await 30 million Afghan citizens.

New Afghanistan: Anticipating the Future

The South's history suggests Afghanistan's future is tied to its past, a result that many Americans, like their nineteenth century Northern predecessors, may find unsettling. On 11 September 2012, Abdul Wahid Wahid, a deputy for the municipality of Kabul, echoed the comments of Allan Millett's anonymous 1877 southerner, stating, "The arrival of the foreigners is like waves rocking a ship. When the waves are gone, the ship resumes its course."[48] Should Wahid's statement prove as prophetic as that of Millett's anonymous southerner, Afghanistan's future will resemble a former image, without marginal regard for the bloodshed and treasure lost during 13 years of foreign intervention.

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[47] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 367.

[48] Carmen Gentile, "As troops move out, economy slows in Kabul," *USA Today*, 11 September 2012, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/afghanistan/story/2012-09-06/kabul-afghanistan-economy/57738224/1. (accessed 22 February 2013)

As with the planter and merchant classes of the Reconstruction and Redemption South, Durrani Pashtuns and local warlords are likely to retain power within future Afghan governance structures. The deference showed by Northern Alliance leaders at the Bonn conference in November 2001 provided tremendous insight at the reverence all Afghans, Pashtun and non-Pashtun alike share for Ahmed Shah. Hamid Karzai recycled the compromise reached in 2001 with electoral success in 2004 and 2009. Although the Constitution prohibits the President from seeking reelection in 2014, Karzai has positioned his brother, Qayum, as his successor.[49] Among Qayum Karzai's principal roles as the President's personal advisor, he is the government's chief representative for potential reconciliation negotiations with the Taliban. Coincidently, the absence of political parties, and the large field of presidential candidates it perpetuates, creates a significant barrier for any non-Pashtun candidate seeking to overcome the Pashtuns' numerical superiority—each ethnicity typically fields and supports a candidate. Afghanistan's history also instructs that in the event a Pashtun wins the 2014 Presidential election, that individual is likely to hail from a hierarchical Durrani tribe rather than the egalitarian Ghilzai alternative. Mullah Omar's isolationist tendencies during 1990s reinforced the existing Ghilzai stereotype that purports their traditional distaste for political life.

In contrast to the Ghilzai, Durrani's are renowned for political shrewdness. Karzai's decision in 2009 to embrace local warlords for political expediency ensured those warlords, regardless of ethnicity, who might challenge his authority, would have a personal stake in perpetuating the present arrangement. For the warlords, provincial governorships and state ministerial positions offered broad political recognition without sacrificing their local influence, as demonstrated by a November 2012 call to arms by Ismail Khan. Khan, the Karzai-appointed state Minister of Energy and Water and former Northern Alliance warlord, "rallied thousands of his supporters in the desert outside Herat, the cultured western provincial capital and the center of his power base, urging them to coordinate and reactivate their networks" to defend against a potential Taliban

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[49] International Crisis Group, *Afghanistan: The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition* (Brussels, Belgium: International Crisis Group, October 2012), 5.

resurgence after 2014.[50] Khan's call reiterated a similar assertion by Afghan Vice

President and former Tajik warlord Qasim Fahim in a September 2012 speech. Fahim

called for a reformation of the Northern Alliance if the Afghan National Army (ANA)

proved incapable of defending the Afghan people.[51] Ironically, as Karzai's first Defense

Minister, Fahim was responsible, according to Ahmed Rashid, for the ANA failures in

2003.

As with Southern planters and merchants, government officials and former

warlords maintain local influence through economic advantage relative to their poorer

brethren. In the South, New and Old, land was the principal mechanism of perpetuating

wealth and consequent power disparities. In Afghanistan, although corruption and the

illegal seizure of trade tariffs were the primary means of establishing economic influence

during war and early reconstruction, government's role in dispensing foreign aid monies

and awarding private industrial contracts offers government officials at all levels,

especially warlords appointed to office by Karzai, lucrative opportunities from which

they benefit personally. Afghanistan's Constitution prohibits discrimination against

foreign corporations, but it similarly prevents foreign corporations from owning land in

Afghanistan.[52] Therefore, Afghan laws encourage foreign corporations to work with

Afghan-owned businesses to access untapped natural resources. As with the three billion

dollar deal that linked the China National Petroleum Company with an Afghan firm

owned by Karzai's relatives, foreign firms benefit from collaborating with Afghan

business interests connected to powerful government officials. The patronage network,

common even among more established governments, will perpetuate the gaping wealth

disparities that have traditionally characterized class distinctions, similar to the South and

the US writ large during the Gilded Age when industrial expansion was dependent on the

availability of cheap labor and abundant raw materials.

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[50] Graham Bowley, "Afghan Warlord's Call to Arms Rattles Officials," *New York Times*, 12 November 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/13/world/asia/ismail-khan-powerful-afghan-stokes-concern-in-kabul.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. (accessed 22 February 2013)

[51] Graham Bowley, "Bomber Strikes Near NATO Office in Afghanistan," *New York Times*, 8 September 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/09/world/asia/in-kabul-suicide-bomber-strikes-near-nato-headquarters.html. (accessed 22 February 2013)

[52] Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, "2012 Investment Climate State – Afghanistan," United States Department of State, June 2012, http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ics/2012/191093.htm. (accessed 17 February 2013)

A more difficult question concerns the future of gender equality in Afghanistan. A comparison to racial equality in the South after 1877 suggests that gender equality is likely to erode with time and the emergence of other global crises that divert foreign attention. Although the 2003 Afghan Constitution was the most progressive in the Muslim world, it failed to prescribe special protections for women, placing females in a precarious status akin to Southern blacks after the Supreme Court overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1868.[53] The lack of universal support among rural Afghans for gender equality, a traditional tribal response to centrally directed modernization, further complicates the future of gender equality. Ironically, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of Hezb-i-Islami, who "condemned the [Taliban's] blocking of girls' schooling," offers a potential middle ground for reconciliation. Hekmatyar still opposes educating males and females together, but supports the basic need for educating Afghan girls as prescribed under the Constitution.[54] Similarly, leaders of the Afghan Taliban softened rhetoric in 2012 concerning the education of girls in advance of potential reconciliation talks, despite the hardline stand of their Pakistani brethren.[55]

The emergence of negotiating room with insurgent groups indicates gender equality is likely to persist in some form, at least through 2025. Extensive female representation in the *Wolesi jirga*, and the consensus-based procedures by which it operates, also supports the continued involvement of women. Karzai's request for sustained international assistance through 2025, however, provides the most optimistic sign for the immediate continuance of gender equality initiatives. The international community has pledged future financial assistance, but those funds are likely to be tied to the preservation of Western social ideals, and the rights of Afghan women will assuredly top that list. The history of the South, however, instructs that external influence, like financial dependence, is nothing more than a delaying mechanism without a formal

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[53] Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 299.

[54] The Express Tribune, "Girls education issue: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar condemns TTP's stance," *The Tribune Express with the International Herald Tribune*, 3 January 2013, http://tribune.com.pk/story/488343/girls-education-issue-gulbuddin-hekmatyar-condemns-ttps-stance/. (accessed 22 February 2013)

[55] F. Brinley Bruton, "Report: Paper reveals Taliban softening stance on girls' education," World News, 12 August 2012, http://worldnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/08/12/13241448-report-paper-reveals-taliban-softening-stance-on-girls-education?lite. (accessed 22 February 2013)

political solution. Social reversals in the South were not instantaneous, so rapid regression in Afghanistan may not be either, but regression in the South did eventually occur. Finally, Afghanistan's history with social reform in the 1920s and 1970s shows that the future of gender equality will rest with the 80% of Afghans residing in rural areas, many of whom are far more traditional than the urban population.

Afghanistan's economic future will similarly rest with the rural populace. As with the New South, agrarian production will continue to drive Afghanistan's economic fate for the immediate and foreseeable future, although in Afghanistan's case political leaders are more supportive of industrialization and exploitation of natural resources rather a continued dependence on agriculture. Globalization also offers Afghanistan more industrial suitors than were available to the South. Afghanistan possesses an estimated one trillion dollars in mineral resources, 3.6 billion barrels in oil reserves and 36.5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves.[56] Industrial development, however, will progress in a manner that supports the political objectives of those directing society, and will remain conditional on political and physical stability. Consequently, industrialization will continue to favor economic growth in Kabul and the Northern and Western provinces, among Afghanistan's minority populations, where security has been more reliable. In contrast, industrialization will lag in the South and East where insurgency foments instability, possibly preventing the Pashtun majority from sharing in the benefits of economic growth.

National control of natural resources located throughout Afghanistan's periphery could complicate the traditional urban-rural balance. Similar to the South's pursuit of home rule and commensurate with Afghan traditions, peripheral tribes will demand significant autonomy despite efforts by Karzai to maximize executive authority. Calls for greater autonomy will only be encouraged by an improved security situation, as tribal elders may no longer be indebted to government forces for protection. Ismail Khan's 2012 comments concerning rearmament reflected the persistence of this traditional Afghan perception.

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[56] Kenneth Katzman, *Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy*, Report for Congress (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, February 2013), 70-1.

Infrastructure deficiencies will continue to delay economic growth and restrict centralized authority among the periphery. As of February 2013, Afghanistan's principal method of motorized travel, the Ring Road connecting its five principal urban centers, remained 150 miles shy of completion despite 12 years of foreign assisted construction. The Asian Development Bank's 2012 pledge of $350 million dollars to complete the remaining distance will assist with commercial growth but will do little to increase government influence throughout the mountainous and isolated regions that remain unconnected by passable roads.[57]

Traditional Afghan autonomy will also influence its political relationship with the international community similar to the regional autonomy achieved by the Solid South Congressional Democrats after Redemption. The government in Kabul will act with increasing autonomy in its dealings with the international community following the withdrawal of foreign military forces. Persistent insurgency fostered a dependency on foreign military assistance to assure political survival in the absence of an adequate internal security apparatus. As of February 2013, however, the ANA provided security for 87% of the Afghan population, with the remaining 13% scheduled to come under their purview by 2014. Furthermore, Karzai's aggressive rhetoric following the incineration of Korans at Bagram Airbase in January 2012 matched that of traditional Afghan national leaders and foreshadowed future bold assertions of independence. Afghan leaders have traditionally used open defiance, appearing strong and building internal legitimacy, despite unyielding financial dependence. For Karzai, bold political defiance of the international community offers a tangible way to recast current public perception of him as a weak leader. The removal of foreign military presence will afford Afghan leaders a freer hand in dealings with the international community, while coincidentally increasing credibility among the Afghan population despite the anticipated presence of 6,000 to 20,000 US forces beyond 2014.[58]

Increased rhetoric from Kabul, however, will not reduce Afghanistan's status as a rentier state prior through at least 2025, though Afghanistan's history suggests

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[57] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 66.

[58] Elisabeth Buhmiller and Eric Schmitt, "Afghan War Commander Gives Options for After '14," New York Times, 2 January 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/03/world/middleeast/afghan-war-commander-gives-options-for-after-2014.htm?ref=middleeast&_r=1&. (accessed 22 February 2013)

dependence will last beyond Karzai's designated threshold. In 2012, the World Bank predicted a budgetary gap equal to 40% of the projected Afghan gross domestic product (GDP) in 2014 and 2015, followed by a gradual "decline when expected mining revenues materialize, reaching around 25% of GDP in 2021/22." The gap equates to approximately $7.8 billion annually, as measured in 2011 dollars.[59] President Karzai used the independent World Bank assessment at the 2012 Bonn Conference and again at the Tokyo Donors Conference to request international pledges totaling $10 billion annually through 2025. As the World Bank indicated, however, the 2025 threshold is contingent on increased industrial output.   Subsequently, the development of mining and other industrial infrastructure will rely on sustained security and political stability.

Abdul Wahid Wahid, the Kabul deputy, suggested that Afghanistan's future would resemble its past and the rebirth of antebellum practices in the New South supports his claim. Government officials, dominated by Durrani Pashtuns and multi-ethnic warlords, will retain a tight grip on authority and act without due regard for existing wealth and power disparities. Gains in gender equality will persist in the short-term, but with time, peripheral populations that are more traditional will likely scrutinize gender equality and other modernization efforts enacted in Kabul. Afghanistan's status as a rentier state and agrarian society will also persist. Although lucrative industrial contracts benefitting government officials will entice exploitation of Afghanistan's vast natural resources, an uneducated labor force and poor infrastructure will restrict the pace of development. Finally, the Taliban insurgency will continue until a political solution is found, stressing the uneasy relationship between political stability, economic development and physical security. In short, Afghanistan's future will resemble its tenuous past.

Conclusion: Prediction and Policy Recommendations

Historical analogies are by necessity contrived intellectual constructs but the comparisons established between Southern Reconstruction from 1865 to 1876, and Afghan Reconstruction from 2002 to 2014 suggests remarkable symmetry and predictive power. Therefore, as 1876 was for the South, 2014 will be a point of political inflection for Afghanistan. The issue of insurgent reconciliation, and it's relation to both the 2014

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[59] Katzman, *Afghanistan*, 9.

presidential election and planned US troop withdrawal, will either usher in a period analogous to Southern Redemption, or prolonged instability and fighting without external military assistance to provide artificial legitimacy for President Karzai's successor. In the South, federal troop disengagement from the political process occurred after Southern Democrats reconciled through popular, though corrupt, elections. In Afghanistan, US forces will "shift from a combat to a support mission in mid-2013" and withdrawal en masse during 2014.[60] The issue of Taliban reconciliation, however, remained unresolved as of early 2013, though third-party reports and softened rhetoric suggest reconciliation between the two sides is possible, especially once President Karzai departs.

Despite the critical importance and inherent uncertainty that lies beyond the summer of 2013, Afghanistan's future will resemble one of two past images. First, Afghanistan could tumble into renewed civil war that reverses the gains made since 2002. Second, and most likely according to the lessons of the South, Afghanistan could assume the multi-ethnic, rentier state status that achieved five decades of stability under Zahir Shah with prospects for eventual economic independence.

Afghanistan's first potential future, and the one most widely discussed by pundits and policymakers, is renewed civil war. Such an end could result from three potential catalysts. First, a continued Taliban insurgency could further injure popular faith in the central government; war would then engulf the entire nation. The ANA remains largely untested, as the most contested regions will be the last areas transferred to their care. Similarly, local tribal leaders and warlords still hold tremendous influence over Afghan National Police and Afghan Local Police units. As highlighted by Ahmed Rashid, District Police Chiefs remain among the most corrupt and lucrative of all government appointments. The 2012 statements of Khan and Fahim offer a stark reminder of the loyalty still commanded by Afghanistan's regional warlords.

A second potential catalyst for renewed civil war is a precipitous loss of foreign financial assistance. The South dodged economic recession and potential physical violence by way of domestic trade that provided markets for agrarian production, and reliable federal spending per capita after 1866. Instead, slow Southern economic

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[60] Carol E. Lee and Adam Entous, "Obama to speed Troop Exit," *The Wall Street Journal*, 11 January, 2013, http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324581504578235893292795864.html. (accessed 23 February 2013)

progress relative to the US North and West resulted from its own retrenched agrarian policies. Traditionally, however, Afghanistan has not benefited from consistent economic support from domestic institutions. The British experience during the First Afghan War and Najibullah's fall after the abrupt end of Soviet support are reminders that without foreign assistance, reliable central governance has been unsustainable. As of 2011, the $15.7 billion in international aid "was about the same as" Afghanistan's nominal GDP.[61] Furthermore, the total sum requested by Karzai through 2025, $120 billion, is nearly 20% more than cumulative international support from 2002 to 2012. Without the requested aid, the World Bank predicts a degradation of basic services and infrastructure development across the state. Development programs for education, health care, rural and transportation infrastructure, and energy all rely principally on donor aid.[62] The only other available option would be to curtail the $5 billion spent annually to sustain the ANA and ANP, which the US almost exclusively funds under current arrangements.[63] Both options would have a destabilizing effect, especially in rural regions, where confidence in centralized governance remains fractured.

A civil war could also result from the 2014 presidential election, a catalyst that nearly led the South back to open revolt in 1876. Rampant corruption and voter fraud in the 2009 Presidential and 2010 Parliamentary elections sparked physical confrontations among *jirga* members. The elections also caused many Afghan citizens to question the legitimacy of their elected government and provided a convenient rallying cry for Taliban support. A recurrence of corruption and a result that elects Karzai's brother could prove disastrous, similar to the broader call for renewed civil war across the South during the election crisis of 1876. As with Southern home rule gained from the presidential bargain of 1877, sufficient compensation for non-Pashtun powerbrokers would be required to prevent a relapse of violence, likely a renewal or expansion of lucrative political appointments. Conversely, the election of a non-Pashtun would challenge more than 250 years of Pashtun rule in Afghanistan. Such a result, though unlikely if the Pashtun population unites behind a single candidate, could drive an ethnic wedge along the Pamir

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[61] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition: Looking Beyond 2014*, (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2012), 1.
[62] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition*, 15.
[63] The World Bank, *Afghanistan in Transition*, 17.

Mountains and afford the Taliban an opportunity to galvanize Pashtuns against non-Pashtun rule.

Despite the many reasons to believe that a post-2014 Afghanistan will fall once again into civil war, the lessons of the South offer another path forward. Afghanistan's alternate and most probable future is the *opportunity* for stable and sustained governance, as occurred in the South after the presidential bargain of 1877. As with the South, political reconciliation will be the key to ending insurgency in Afghanistan. KKK violence in the South delegitimized the authority of Republican governance, supporting the political aspirations of disenfranchised Southern Democrats. In Afghanistan, Taliban violence targets popular confidence in Karzai's government. Consequently, insurgent violence will only subside with reconciliation that incorporates Taliban political aspirations into the current governance structure.

A September 2012 Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) report, based on interviews with four Taliban associates, suggested that the Taliban would welcome reconciliation and a general ceasefire under conditions that appeared unlikely to the international community during the height of insurgency. According to the RUSI study, the Taliban "deeply regret their past affiliation with al Qaeda," are prepared to delink themselves from the terrorist group, and "assure al Qaeda is no longer able to operate on Afghan soil." The Taliban also acknowledge that their "policies of the 1990s need to be re-configured in the face of rapidly changing social forces within current-day Afghanistan." Furthermore, the presence of US military bases would not prevent a settlement "as long as they do not constrain Afghan independence and Islamic jurisprudence." Unfortunately, the Taliban do not appear willing to negotiate with a Hamid Karzai-led government they view as weak and corrupt. Finally, the report cites a potential for "a ceasefire as part of a general settlement" to include negotiated changes to the current Constitution and steps that address "the distribution of political power." [64] As with Southern Democrats, political disenfranchisement offers the Taliban no alternative to insurgency. Finally, a March 2013 "first-of-its-kind uprising against insurgents" that forced Taliban militants from their hometown outside of Kandahar, suggests a general

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[64] Michael Semple et al, *Taliban Perspectives on Reconciliation*, Briefing Paper (London: Royal United Services Institute, September 2012), 3-4.

state of popular war weariness has begun to erode the Taliban's political position among even its most staunch supporters.[65] Therefore, collective exhaustion among Afghan Taliban fighters and the population from whom they depend upon for legitimacy and support, provides the Taliban with incentive to seek a political settlement.

Pashtun and non-Pashtun officials within the current government, as their national Republican counterparts did in the case of the South, stand to profit financially and socially from stability, thus giving them equal cause to negotiate a political agreement regardless of the effects such an agreement might have on less powerful social classes. As with the Southern militias, the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan places increased pressure on an untested ANA to provide security in the face of a battle-hardened and ideologically driven adversary. Similarly, persistent insecurity and poor economic growth stand to further delegitimize the government in Kabul and stress the tenuous central-peripheral balance without a negotiated settlement.

Indeed, a political agreement benefits both parties after 35 continuous years of war, but neither side should expect 100% satisfaction with any arrangement. In the South, Frederick Douglas' comments on educational opportunities for former slaves during Redemption and the 1879 exodus reflected this harsh reality for Southern blacks. Even Southern planters had to adapt to the free labor system, ceding some amount of control to the emancipated labor force that retained the opportunity to emigrate and negotiate, albeit within strictly enforced legal bounds. The bargain that awaits Afghanistan will not satisfy either party entirely, but most agreements that would enable broader education, economic growth, higher living standards, and political stability would be preferable to war for all Afghan citizens.

Ultimately, the South's history instructs that Afghans, and not the international community, will determine Afghanistan's fate. International financial assistance and the presence of US military forces will at most assist with any political settlement reached or provide added security should political negotiations breakdown, but both measures are merely delay mechanisms that afford the Afghan population and their elected officials' time to pursue a peaceful political settlement. To cast the effort of the US, the

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[65] Robert Burns, "Commander Encouraged by Anti-Taliban Uprising," *Associated Press*, 13 March 2013, http://bigstory.ap.org/article/commander-encouraged-anti-taliban-uprising. (accessed 3 April 2013)

international community, and Afghan people as either a categorical success or failure is too simple. Although the South reverted to a form that resembled its old self, change did eventually occur in the 1960s. Similarly, the legitimacy afforded the Afghan government by the presence of US and coalition security forces—measured progress in education, political participation, and economic development—and the connections made between public and private Afghan society, and the international community represent incremental steps toward a better future. Unfortunately, the true value of measured progress in Afghanistan since 2002 will not avail itself for many decades, may never be truly quantifiable, and could still prove illusory.

As with the South, Afghanistan's future rests upon an uneasy balance of political stability, physical security, and economic progress. Relative change in one area will necessarily affect the other two. The New South's resemblance to its old form, complete with home rule and segregation, likely caused many Americans at the time, in both the North and South, to question the value of Civil War and Reconstruction. Will Afghanistan's future produce a similar response among Americans after more than 13 years, 2,100 US military deaths, and $700 billion?

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